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DESCRIPTORS *Administrative Policy; Behavioral Objectives; Course Descriptions; Cultural Traits; Curriculum Guides; *Group Behavior; Labeling (of Persons); *Law Enforcement; Learning Activities; *Minority Groups; Organizations (Groups); *Police Education; Postsecondary Education; Psychological Needs; Social Bias; *Social Psychology; Vocational Education; Workbooks

IDENTIFIERS Military Curriculum Project

ABSTRACT

Both teacher and student materials are included in this guide for a postsecondary course intended to provide training in the psychological aspects of confrontation, disturbance, or disorder. One of a number of military-developed curriculum packages selected for adaptation to vocational instruction and curriculum development in a civilian setting, the course consists of six lessons covering thirty-five hours of instruction. Subject matter for the course focuses on social science concepts, the psychology of crowds and mobs, the personal recognition of discrimination and prejudice, minority groups and their contributions to the United States, and analyzing reports. The plan of instruction, which suggests number of class hours to be devoted to each objective, is based on the following outline: Personal Perception (2 hours), Social Science Concepts and Theory (11 hours), Prejudice, Discrimination, and Minority Groups (8 hours), Crowds and Mobs (5 hours), After-Action Reports (3 hours), and Student Reports (6 hours). The course relies heavily on outside reading and individual activities. Lesson plans, behavioral objectives, textual material, and lists of additional readings are included along with suggested films and transparency sets (not included). Activities are directed at raising individual awareness of the social and psychological problems inherent in the imposition of authority on minority groups; correction and/or recognizing discrimination and prejudice on the part of individuals and the system; and developing strategies for handling these problems. It is noted that material is applicable to police training, teacher education, or supervisory courses. (MEK)

ED183833

Military Curricula for Vocational & Technical Education

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION

14-2

CE 024 398

THE NATIONAL CENTER
FOR RESEARCH IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

This military technical training course has been selected and adapted by The Center for Vocational Education for "Trial Implementation of a Model System to Provide Military Curriculum Materials for Use in Vocational and Technical Education," a project sponsored by the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

MILITARY CURRICULUM MATERIALS

The military-developed curriculum materials in this course package were selected by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education Military Curriculum Project for dissemination to the six regional Curriculum Coordination Centers and other instructional materials agencies. The purpose of disseminating these courses was to make curriculum materials developed by the military more accessible to vocational educators in the civilian setting.

The course materials were acquired, evaluated by project staff and practitioners in the field, and prepared for dissemination. Materials which were specific to the military were deleted, copyrighted materials were either omitted or approval for their use was obtained. These course packages contain curriculum resource materials which can be adapted to support vocational instruction and curriculum development.

The National Center Mission Statement

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education's mission is to increase the ability of diverse agencies, institutions, and organizations to solve educational problems relating to individual career planning, preparation, and progression. The National Center fulfills its mission by:

- Generating knowledge through research
- Developing educational programs and products
- Evaluating individual program needs and outcomes
- Installing educational programs and products
- Operating information systems and services
- Conducting leadership development and training programs

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT
Military Curriculum Materials
WRITE OR CALL

Program Information Office
The National Center for Research in Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
1960 Kenny Road, Columbus, Ohio 43210
Telephone: 614/486-3655 or Toll Free 800/848-4815 within the continental U.S. (except Ohio)

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
The Ohio State University · 1960 Kenny Road · Columbus, Ohio 43210
Tel. (614) 486-3655
Cable CIVOCEDOSU/Columbus, Ohio

Military Curriculum Materials for Vocational and Technical Education

Information and Field Services Division

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education

Military Curriculum Materials Dissemination Is . . .

an activity to increase the accessibility of military-developed curriculum materials to vocational and technical educators.

This project, funded by the U.S. Office of Education, includes the identification and acquisition of curriculum materials in print form from the Coast Guard, Air Force, Army, Marine Corps and Navy.

Access to military curriculum materials is provided through a "Joint Memorandum of Understanding" between the U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Defense.

The acquired materials are reviewed by staff and subject matter specialists, and courses deemed applicable to vocational and technical education are selected for dissemination.

The National Center for Research in Vocational Education is the U.S. Office of Education's designated representative to acquire the materials and conduct the project activities.

Project Staff:

Wesley E. Budke, Ph.D., Director
National Center Clearinghouse

Shirley A. Chase, Ph.D.
Project Director

What Materials Are Available?

One hundred twenty courses on microfiche (thirteen in paper form) and descriptions of each have been provided to the vocational Curriculum Coordination Centers and other instructional materials agencies for dissemination.

Course materials include programmed instruction, curriculum outlines, instructor guides, student workbooks and technical manuals.

The 120 courses represent the following sixteen vocational subject areas:

- Agriculture
- Aviation
- Building & Construction Trades
- Clerical Occupations
- Communications
- Drafting
- Electronics
- Engine Mechanics
- Food Service
- Health
- Heating & Air Conditioning
- Machine Shop
- Management & Supervision
- Meteorology & Navigation
- Photography
- Public Service

The number of courses and the subject areas represented will expand as additional materials with application to vocational and technical education are identified and selected for dissemination.

How Can These Materials Be Obtained?

Contact the Curriculum Coordination Center in your region for information on obtaining materials (e.g., availability and cost). They will respond to your request directly or refer you to an instructional materials agency closer to you.

CURRICULUM COORDINATION CENTERS

EAST CENTRAL
Rebecca S. Douglass
Director
100 North First Street
Springfield, IL 62777
217/782-0759

NORTHWEST
William Daniels
Director
Building 17
Airdustrial Park
Olympia, WA 98504
206/753-0879

MIDWEST
Robert Patton
Director
1515 West Sixth Ave.
Stillwater, OK 74704
405/377-2000

SOUTHEAST
James F. Shill, Ph.D.
Director
Mississippi State University
Drawer DX
Mississippi State, MS 39762
601/325-2510

NORTHEAST
Joseph F. Kelly, Ph.D.
Director
225 West State Street
Trenton, NJ 08625
609/292-6562

WESTERN
Lawrence F. H. Zane, Ph.D.
Director
1776 University Ave.
Honolulu, HI 96822
808/948-7834

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Classroom Course 14-2

Developed by:
United States Air Force

Development and Review Dates
October 22, 1975

Occupational Area:
Management and Supervision

Target Audiences:
Supervisors, teachers, teacher educators, adult students

Print Pages:
222

Cost:
$4.50

Availability:
Military Curriculum Project, The Center for Vocational Education, 1960 Kenny Rd., Columbus, OH 43210

Contents:	Type of Materials: Lesson Plans:	Programmed Text:	Student Workbook:	Handouts:	Text Materials:	Audio-Visuals:	Instructional Design: Performance Objectives:	Tests:	Review Exercises:	Additional Materials Required:	Type of Instruction: Group Instruction:	Individualized:	
Lesson 2 – Personal Perception	•				•		•				•		
Lesson 3 – Social Science Concepts and Theory	•				•	★	•				•		
Lesson 4 – Prejudice, Discrimination and Minority Groups	•				•	★	•				•		
Lesson 5 – Crowds and Mobs	•			•	•	★	•				•		
Lesson 6 – After-Action Reports	•				★		•				•		
Lesson 7 – Student Reports	•						•				•		

★ Materials are recommended but not provided.

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Expires July 1, 1978

rse Description

course provides training in the psychological aspects of confrontation, disturbance or disorder. Subjects focus on social science concepts, the chology of crowds and mobs, the personal recognition of discrimination and prejudice, minority groups and their contributions to the United es, and analyzing reports. This course consists of six lessons covering 35 hours of instruction. The first course orientation lesson was deleted use it discussed military organization and procedures. The included lesson topics and respective hours follow:

Lesson 2	–	Personal Perception (2 hours)
Lesson 3	–	Social Science Concepts and Theory (11 hours)
Lesson 4	–	Prejudice, Discrimination and Minority Groups (8 hours)
Lesson 5	–	Crowds and Mobs (5 hours)
Lesson 6	–	After-Action Reports (3 hours)
Lesson 7	–	Student Reports (6 hours)

course consists of both teacher and student materials. Printed instructor materials consist of a plan of instruction detailing the lesson content, tion, and support materials; and lesson plans containing teaching steps. Student materials include a study guide/workbook for the first four lessons, n/out on cultural traits and behavioral patterns of minority groups, and a report on problems and recommended actions for an Air Force stigative group.

activities included in this course are directed at raising individual awareness of the social and psychological problems inherent in the imposition uthority on minority groups; correction and/or recognizing discrimination and prejudice on the part of individuals and the system; and developing tegies for handling these problems. The course relies heavily on outside reading and individualized student activities. The actual course material vides a base on which to build an intensive sub-unit in police training, teacher education, or supervisory courses.

diovisuals can be most effective with this course. The following six films plus four transparency sets are recommended for use but are not vided.

AFIF 214	Heritage in Black
AFIF 240	Prejudice Film
SFP 2219	Land of the Brave
FLC 2110A	Battle of East St. Louis
FLC 20-0190MA	Tough Minded Supervision
FLC 20100	Battle of Chicago
FM 013	The Whole World is Watching

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(PDS Code PC4)

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION

(Technical Training)

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF POLICE ADMINISTRATION

14-2

HQ USAF SCHOOL OF APPLIED AEROSPACE SCIENCES (ATC)

Lackland Air Force Base, Texas

22 October 1975 - Effective 28 October 1975 with Class 751028

ATC FORM 522 (NOV 83)

LIST OF CURRECT PAGES

This POI consists of 17 current pages issued as follows:

PAGE NO.	ISSUE
Title	Original
A	Original
i	Original
1 thru 14	Original

MODIFICATIONS

Pages 1-2 of this publication has (have) been deleted in adapting this material for inclusion in the "Trial Implementation of a Model System to Provide Military Curriculum Materials for Use in Vocational and Technical Education." Deleted material involves extensive use of military forms, procedures, systems, etc. and was not considered appropriate for use in vocational and technical education.

DISTRIBUTION: ATC/TTMI -1, AUL/LSE - 1, CCAF/AY - 2, TTO - 1, MOM-6 - 1, TSP - 30.

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE: Social Problems of Police Administration
BLOCK NUMBER	BLOCK TITLE

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
2. Personal Perception a. Given a listing of present day issues on confrontations, disturbances and disorders, express in writing a personal attitude toward these issues and present a brief resume of comments. CTS: 8 Meas: W	2 Day 1

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

SIGNATURE	DATE	SIGNATURE	DATE

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION NO.	DATE	PAGE NO.
3AZR81271	22 October 1975	3

ATC FORM ABR 76 133 REPLACES ATC FORMS 337, MAR 73, AND 770, AUG 72, WHICH WILL BE USED

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Student Instructional Materials
SW 3AZR81271, Psychological Aspects of Riot Control Text
Psychology of Life by F.L. Rush. Scott, Foresman and Co., 1963

Personal Perception Exercise - KB0100

Training Methods
Discussion (1 hr)
Performance (1 hr)

Instructional Guidance
Allow students sufficient time to complete student perception exercise. Have students present a brief resume of comments. Assign students a special project on racial groups, ethnic groups, established organizations, disturbances or disorders.

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE: Social Problems of Police Administration
BLOCK NUMBER	BLOCK TITLE

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
3. Social Science Concepts and Theory	11 (9/2) Days 1, 2 (1)
a. Presented situations illustrating social science concepts/theories, determine which concept/theory is illustrated and how it effects duty performance. CTS: 1, Meas: W	
b. Given situations illustrating reaction to frustrations, determine the effect of reaction to frustration while performing police duty. CTS: 2, Meas: W	(1)
c. Given situations illustrating the use of defense mechanisms, identify the effect of defense mechanisms while performing police duty. CTS: 9, Meas: W	(1)
d. Presented situations illustrating problem areas in interpersonal communications, identify the areas that prevent effective group cohesiveness. CTS: 8, 9, Meas: W	(4)
e. Presented situations characterizing the three basic stereotypes that influence personal behavior, identify each stereotype characterized. CTS: 8, 12, Meas: W	(2)

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

SIGNATURE	DATE	SIGNATURE	DATE

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ATC FORM APR 78 133 REPLACES ATC FORMS 337, MAR 73, AND 770, AUG 72, WHICH WILL BE USED.

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Student Instructional Materials
SW 3AZR81271, Psychological Aspects of Riot Control
Rating Life Change Chart
Ghetto Test
Rigidity Test
Texts: Urban Racial Violence in the 20th Century by J. Baskin, Glancoe Press 1969.
Prejudice and Race Relations by R.W. Mack, Quadrange Books, 1970.
Psychology and Life, by F.L. Rush, Scott, Foresman and Co., 1963.

Audio Visual Aids
Films: FLC 2110A, Battle of East St. Louis
FLC 20-0190MA, Tough Minded Supervision

Training Methods
Discussion (7 hrs)
Performance (2 hrs)
CTT Assignments (2 hrs)

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE: Social Problems of Police Administration
BLOCK NUMBER	BLOCK TITLE

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
4. Prejudice, Discrimination and Minority Groups	8 (6/2) Days 3, 4
a. Presented situations illustrating problems involving prejudice and discrimination which prevent effective race relationships, identify the problem area. CTS: 3, Meas: W	(2)
b. Given a listing of specific behavior patterns of minority groups, identify the group of which they are characteristic. CTS: 3, Meas: W	(3)
c. Presented situations illustrating police/community relations, identify those programs most likely to succeed. CTS: 2, Meas: W	

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

SIGNATURE	DATE	SIGNATURE	DATE

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ATC FORM APR 75 133 REPLACES ATC FORMS 337, MAR 73, AND 770, AUG 72, WHICH WILL BE USED.

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Student Instructional Materials
SW 3AZR81271, Psychological Aspects of Riot Control
Supplementary Text QS 1011, Human Relations in ATC
Text: Voices of Dissent by F. Lane, Prentice-Hall Inc, 1970
SH, Cultural Traits and Behavioral Patterns of Minority Groups

Audio Visual Aids
Transparencies: Definition of Prejudice
Definition of Discrimination
Myrdal - Rank of Discrimination

Films: AFIF 240, The Prejudice Film
AFIF 214, Heritage in Black
SFP-2219, Land of the Brave

Training Methods
Discussion (6 hrs)
CTT Assignments (2 hrs)

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE
	Social Problems of Police Administraiton

BLOCK NUMBER	BLOCK TITLE

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
5. Crowds and Mobs a. Given situations illustrating the activities of several types of crowds, identify each type of crowd. CTS: 4, Meas: W b. Presented descriptive actions of unruly crowds, identify the behavior dynamics associated with each crowd. CTS: 4, 5 Meas: W c. Presented situations illustrating the activities of mob leaders, identify the tactics and techniques used to transform crowds into mobs. CTS: 6, 7, Meas: W d. Given situations illustrating mob activities, identify the activities which were preplanned. CTS: 7, Meas: W	5 (3/2) Day 4

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

SIGNATURE	DATE	SIGNATURE	DATE

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ATC FORM APR 75 133 REPLACES ATC FORMS 337, MAR 73, AND 770, AUG 72, WHICH WILL BE USED.

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Student Instructional Materials
SW 3AZR81271, Psychological Aspects of Riot Control
Text: Riots, Revolts and Insurrections by R.M. Momboisse, Bannerstone House, 1967.

Audio Visual Aids
Films: FLC 20100, Battle of Chicago
FM 013, The Whole World is Watching

Training Methods
Discussion (3 hrs)
CTT Assignments (2 hrs)

PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE
	Social Problems of Police Administration
BLOCK NUMBER	**BLOCK TITLE**

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
6. After-Action Reports a. Given reports that describe actual disorders, identify the limitations and restrictions imposed on Law Enforcement Officials performing civil disturbance duties. CTS: 2, 10, 12 Means: W	3 Day 4

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Student Instructional Materials
After-Action Reports

Training Methods
Discussion (3 hrs)

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I

NAME OF INSTRUCTOR	COURSE TITLE
	Social Problems of Police Administration
BLOCK NUMBER	**BLOCK TITLE**

1 COURSE CONTENT	2 DURATION (Hours)
7. Student Reports	6 (4/2)
a. When assigned a project covering racial groups, ethnic groups, established organizations, disturbances and disorders, prepare and present a briefing validating the findings. CTS: 11 Meas: PC	Days 3, 5
8. Related Training (Identified in Course Chart)	2
9. Measurement	1
a. Measurement	Day 5
b. Test Critique	
10. Course Critique and Graduation	1
	Day 5

SUPERVISOR APPROVAL OF LESSON PLAN (PART II)

SIGNATURE	DATE	SIGNATURE	DATE

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PLAN OF INSTRUCTION/LESSON PLAN PART I (Continuation Sheet)

COURSE CONTENT

SUPPORT MATERIALS AND GUIDANCE

Training Methods
Discussion (.5 hr)
Performance (3.5 hrs)
CTT Assignments (2 hrs)

Instructional Guidance
Have students present their special projects and critique each.

Technical Training

Social Problems of Police Administration

14-2

CULTURAL TRAITS AND BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF MINORITY GROUPS

25 November 1975

USAF SCHOOL OF APPLIED AEROSPACE SCIENCES

USAF Security Police Academy

Lackland Air Force Base, Texas

Designed For ATC Course Use

DO NOT USE ON THE JOB

SH 3AZR81271

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USAF Security Police Academy
Lackland AFB, Texas

SII 3AZRH1271
25 November 1975

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INTRODUCTION

PART I - AMERICAN CULTURE

Sociologists, basing their findings on empirical studies of major value-orientations in American society, are generally agreed on the following salient characteristics of American culture and the American character.

"'Achievement' and 'Success'--. . . First, American culture is marked by a central stress upon personal achievement, especially secular occupational achievement. The 'success story' and the respect accorded to the self-made man are distinctly American, if anything is. Our society has been highly competitive--a society in which ascribed status in the form of fixed, hereditary social stratification has been minimized. It has endorsed Horatio Alger and has glorified the rail splitter who becomes president . . . . All societies have standards of character and proficiency. . . . The comparatively striking feature of American culture is its tendency to identify standards of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement. . . . Business success seems to be a dominant focus, but not the dominant value-pattern, in American society, [which is what sociologists call "moral individualism," i.e. the basic premise that individuals, not classes, are the real competing units. A man is said to reap his reward by "his own" efforts, skills, and perseverance.] . . .

"'Activity' and 'Work'--In the United States is to be found what is almost the ideal type of a culture that stresses activity. . . . A notable series of observers have overwhelmingly agreed that America is the land of haste and bustle, of strenuous competition, of ceaseless activity and agitation. In this culture, the individual tends to 'face outward'--to be interested in making things happen in the external world. . . . This pattern--which forms a leit motif in American history--may be explained historically, of course, as developing out of religious tradition, frontier experience, ceaseless change, vast opportunity, and fluid social structure. . . . Directed and disciplined activity in a regular occupation is a particular form of this basic orientation. If Justice Holmes could say that the purpose of life 'is to function,' the resonance his words aroused in the culture applied particularly to work in a full time vocation. This high evaluation of work has been called typical of the culture by many students of the American scene. . . . If distinctive foci of values can be found in this complicated culture, it seems that one should look into the strong positive appreciation of the support for worldly, instrumental activism. From this emphasis follows the stress upon universal standards of performance. And this in turn . . . implies a concern with universalizing opportunity for performance to a high degree, and with encouraging the maintenance of the full capacities of individuals for valued performance. So it is that efforts to improve health conditions and extend educational opportunities are often approved on these grounds. Consistent with the main values also are the high evaluations placed upon teamwork and upon executive or managerial roles, the approval of technology (as 'control of the world'), and the distinctive form of individualism in which the emphasis is upon permissiveness for a wide variety of achievements. . . .

"'Moral Orientation'--A third major value-configuration relates to a particular type of ethical quality in the total cultural orientation. Authoritative observers from Tocqueville, through Bryce, Siegfried, and others, down to such recent studies as those of Vernon L. Parrington, Margaret Mead, Gunnar Myrdal, and Harold Laski, have agreed on at least one point: Americans tend to 'see the world in moral

terms.' . . . It is asserted that the quasi-mythical figure, the 'typical American,' thinks in terms of right or wrong, good or bad, ethical or unethical. This attitude goes beyond questions of expediency or immediate utility--and beyond purely traditional or customary criteria of behavior--to test conduct against some systematic ethical principles. . . . The presence of an element of moral overstrain in our culture seems to be established. This has a wide range of consequences, including ritualism, vacillating or compensatory behavior, 'split between theory and practice,' so-called 'hypocrisy,' and so on. Individuals facing severe tension between their incorporated ethics and current social 'realities' may resolve the conflict by developing a militant reform mentality or becoming 'cynical.' . . . The central themes of morality in America have undoubtedly had a common base and unified direction, derived from Judaic-Christian ethics. Of special importance has been the so-called Puritan ethic. Beginning as a rigidly theocratic system, it has gone through drastic modifications. . . . When work came to be interpreted as a sign of grace assuring salvation, it turned to a morality in which economic success became prima facie evidence of moral correctness. . . .

"'Humanitarian Mores'--'Humanitarianism'--[is used] to refer to another important value cluster in American society, meaning by it, emphasis upon any type of disinterested concern and helpfulness, including personal kindliness, aid and comfort, spontaneous aid in mass disaster, as well as the more impersonal patterns of organized philanthropy. Do these things represent important values in America? It would be easy to amass contrary evidence. We could cite the expulsion and extermination of the Indians, the harsher aspects of slavery, the sweatshop pattern in industry, and a long catalog of child labor, lynching, vigilantes, and social callousness in many forms. Probably few peoples have so copiously documented and analyzed what they themselves consider to be the 'bad' aspects of their history. . . . [It should be noted, however, that] the failure to follow the standards of concern and helpfulness have not been defended as legitimate in themselves; they have been interpreted as deviance from a criterion which is not basically challenged, or 'justified' in terms of other, allegedly more vital values. . . . Certain patterns of mutual helpfulness and generosity were already apparent in colonial America . . . and have persisted down to the present time. . . . Such hypotheses as 'Americans are especially likely to identify with the "underdog" rather than the "bully"' . . . are indicated in a quick impulsive sympathy for people who are in distress 'by no fault of their own'; in anger at the overbearing individual, group, or nation; in pride in America as a haven for the downtrodden and oppressed. The proverbial generosity of American people toward societies facing mass disaster--for example, earthquakes, floods, fire, famine--has elements of exaggeration and myth; but it does index a real and persistent theme broadly based on religious or quasi-religious ideas of brotherhood, even though it has often been overridden by dividing interests and competing values. . . .

" Efficiency and Practicality--American emphasis upon efficiency has consistently impressed outside observers. . . . 'Efficient' is a word of high praise in a society that has long emphasized adaptability, technological innovation, economic expansion, up-to-dateness, practicality, expediency, 'getting things done.' The mere listing of these words and phrases serves to bring out the multiple extensions of efficiency as a standard against which activity is judged. Such a standard is premised in the first place upon that active orientation to the world of the here and now, so characteristic of our culture. As we have emphasized, this crucially important canalization of interest at once sets this society apart from societies placing greater emphasis upon esthetic, contemplative, ritualistic, mystical, or otherworldly concerns. . . . The theme of practicality points us again to activistic, rational, and secular (but 'ethical') emphases of the culture; at the same time it hints of possible tendencies toward the dissipation of the content of 'ultimate' values in favor of immediate adaptability to immediate interests and satisfaction. . . .

"Progress--From the society's earliest formation there has been a diffuse constellation of beliefs and attitudes that may be called the cult of progress. . . . From Tocqueville to Laski, inquiring foreign observers have been impressed with the faith in progress and the high evaluation of the future in the United States as contrasted with Europe. Americans have felt their present to be better than their past and have felt adequate to deal with a future that will be still better. . . .

"Material Comfort--In the twenties during the triumph of the so-called New Era (of Permanent Prosperity), a highly critical French observer could say of Americans that they 'consider it only natural that their slightest whim should be gratified.' (Andre Siegfried, America Comes of Age. New York, 1927) . . . Siegfried's comment points attention to the value placed upon a high level of material comfort; . . . the 'American standard of living' has its undertones and overtones of meanings--from nationalistic identification, to symbol of success, competence, and power and from a token of moral excellence to something very close to a terminal goal at the level of hedonistic gratification. . . . There is some criticism that passive gratification elements in American society have been receiving increased emphasis in recent decades. The most obvious . . . index of this trend is provided by commercial advertising that emphasizes comfort and effortless gratification: eat this, chew this, drink that; take a vacation; be catered to; and so on. The major focus is upon receiving, looking at, being catered to, in short, maximum pleasurable sensation with minimum effort or activity. Television and motion pictures are perhaps the clearest examples. 'Spectator' sports fit the same pattern--huge audiences watch others perform. . . .

"Equality--. . . This society in its formative periods was one that could, and wished to, break with its hierarchical tradition. . . . This result was favored by fundamental objective and ideological conditions. . . . Until the late 19th century, America was able to develop without having to face widespread conflict between the principle of equality and the principles of achievement or freedom. . . . However, as Tocqueville saw more than a century ago, America had to face sooner or later a conflict of values that he described as a contradiction between the principle of freedom and the principle of equality. For instance, the cumulative effect of freedom to pursue individual advantage, given the opportunities and institutional framework of 19th-century America, was to destroy equality of condition. . . . Both liberty and equality are authentic and historically inseparable parts of Western democratic tradition, but for all their affinity their union has often posed perplexing dilemmas. . . . If equality is a basic value in our society, it must meet our operational tests: (1) the individual must feel guilt, shame, or ego deflation when he acts in inequalitarian ways; (2) there must be sanctions supported by the effective community for conformity or nonconformity. The extensiveness of these reactions must be weighed against parallel responses to any behavior manifesting hierarchical principles of human relations. Although no such quantitative assessment can be made from the available evidence, it is nevertheless reasonably clear that inequalities, hierarchical emphases, and various kinds of discriminations are common in American life. . . . The problem can be grasped more readily if we differentiate among the several senses in which equality may be a value. . . . Extrinsic valuations focus upon what a person has; intrinsic valuation concerns what the person is qua individual. . . . At the level of explicit doctrine, intrinsic equality is widespread in American culture. . . . At the level of overt interpersonal relations, adherence to a sense of intrinsic human value is discernible in a wide variety of specific behaviors--perhaps most obviously in 'democratic manners.' America has always impressed observers from more rigid and hierarchical societies as being marked by an extraordinary informality, directness, and lack of status consciousness in person-to-person contacts. This general openness of social relations can only be maintained in a culture in which intrinsic personal value is a widespread and effective assumption. . . . On the other hand, . . . running through the whole society is the

salient thread of nonequalitarian beliefs and practices concerning interpersonal relations with persons of a different racial or ethnic grouping. Nevertheless, in our provisional appraisal equality rather than hierarchy seems on the whole characteristic of concrete social relations--although perhaps more clearly at the level of the goals and standards of conduct than in the uneven compromises of going practice. . . . A second major type of equality consists of specific formal rights and obligations. . . . It is in this equality of specified rights that the second major theme of American equality has developed, rather than in doctrines of equal individual potentialities, achievements, or rewards. . . . A third type of equality is substantive equality of social and, above all, economic rewards. Here it seems quite clear that the principles of economic freedom and individual achievement have strongly dominated principles of equality. The reigning conception has been that of equality of opportunity rather than equality of condition. . . . In widest perspective it appears that the inequalities that are felt in American culture to contravene equality values most severely are of two kinds: first, the denial of nominally universal rights of citizenship and violations of nominally universal rules of impersonal justice; second, the denial of opportunities for achievement in the formally open competitive order. It is certainly true that American culture has never found it overly difficult to tolerate great differences in types of individual privileges or rewards. . . .

"Freedom--. . . The verbal affirmation of the value of freedom is widespread and persistent [in American society]. . . . It is in the peculiar features of the concept of freedom to which value is attached in America that our present interest centers. We know for instance that when American leaders and the leaders of the Soviet Union say they value 'freedom,' the words do not carry identical value loadings. . . . Broadly speaking, the Soviet conception of freedom emphasizes security in the sense of rights to employment, medical care, economic support, education, and cultural participation within an accepted framework set by the neo-Marxist state. In this system many of the liberties prized in Anglo-American culture are regarded as irrelevant if not meaningless. On the other hand, American spokesmen emphasize freedom of speech and assembly, a multiparty, representative political system, 'private enterprise,' freedom to change residence and employment. . . . A major implicit cultural premise in the dominant valuation of freedom has been the equating of 'freedom' with control by diffuse cultural structure rather than by a definite social organization. Thus, it has seemed to make a great difference whether the individual receives a certain income or has a certain type of occupation as a result of an apparently impersonal, anonymous, diffuse, competitive process, as against 'being forced' to accept that employment or remuneration by law or by the command of a visible social authority. . . . Upon this kind of axiomatic basis, American culture has tended to identify a very great variety of forms of personal dependence as not freedom. . . . The widespread reluctance to take employment as a domestic servant and the low evaluation attached to this type of occupation appear to reflect in part this . . . complex. One of the earliest and most persistent criticisms of American society by aristocratically minded foreign observers has concerned the absence of a docile serving-class and the impertinence of the lower orders. The underlying psychological constellation in traditional American attitudes toward freedom thus seems to be a posture of self-confidence and expansiveness, coupled with a tendency to reject all absolute claims to personal authority. . . . Not 'plebiscite democracy' but 'inalienable rights' reflects the central value. . . .

"External Conformity--Even as early as the 1830's, Tocqueville commented on the necessity of safeguards against a possible 'tyranny of the majority' in America. . . . Nearly a century later Siegfried . . . visualized America as a land of vast uniformity in speech, manners, housing, dress, recreation, and politically expressed ideas. In 1948 Laski pointed to an 'amazing uniformity' of values, thought that 'business mores' had permeated the culture, and tried to show that 'the American spirit required that

the limits of uniformity be drawn with a certain tautness.' (The American Democracy, pp. 49-51). . . . In the period between 1920 and World War II European observers seem to have been especially (and overly) impressed with conformity themes in America. Thus, Mullerfreienfels, in a book published in 1920: 'Distance, uniqueness, and originality are European values, which are foreign to the American. His values are the very reverse of these: adherence to type, agreement, similarity.' . . . . In the field of so-called personal morals, the culture is one in which there is a tendency to legislate conformity--a tendency acted out again and again, from the early 'blue laws' to Prohibition and the Hays Office. In the field of intellectual heterodoxy, although the United States has produced its Thoreau, its Henry George, its free thinkers and dissenters, a considered judgment would be that really radical nonconformity in speculative thought has not been outstanding, at least in comparison with other countries of Western culture. American 'individualism,' taken in broadest terms, has consisted mainly of a rejection of the state and impatience with restraints upon economic activity; it has not tended to set the autonomous individual up in rebellion against his social group. In a nation of joiners, individualism tends to be a matter of 'group individualism,' of the particularized behavior of subcultures. . . . Interestingly enough, the very heterogeneity of American culture tends to produce a stress upon external conformity. Given the varied cultural backgrounds of the population and the desire that the various groups should continue to live together in the same society, conformity in externals becomes a sort of 'social currency' making it possible to continue the society in spite of many clashes of interests and basic values. . . .

"Science and Secular Rationality--. . . The prime quality of 'science' is not in its applications but in its basic method of approaching problems--a way of thought and a set of procedures for interpreting experience. . . . Very broadly, emphasis upon science in America has reflected the values of the rationalistic-individualistic tradition. Science is disciplined, rational, functional, active; it requires systematic diligence and honesty; it is congruent with the 'means' emphasis of the culture--the focus of interest upon pragmatism and efficiency and the tendency to minimize absolutes and ultimates. The applications of science profusely reward the strivings for self-externalizing mastery of the environment. . . .

"[In summary,] American culture is organized around the attempt at active mastery rather than passive acceptance. Into this dimension falls the low tolerance of frustration; the refusal to accept ascetic renunciation; the positive encouragement of desire; the stress on power; the approval of ego-assertion, and so on. It tends to be interested in the external world of things and events, of the palpable and immediate, rather than in the inner experience of meaning and affect. Its genius is manipulative rather than contemplative. Its world-view tends to be open rather than closed: it emphasizes change, flux, movement; its central personality types are adaptive, accessible, outgoing and assimilative. In wide historical and comparative perspective, the culture places its primary faith in rationalism as opposed to traditionalism; it de-emphasizes the past, orients strongly to the future, does not accept things just because they have been done before. Closely related to the above, is the dimension of orderliness rather than unsystematic ad hoc acceptance of transitory experience. (This emphasis is most marked in the urban middle classes.) With conspicuous deviations, a main theme is a universalistic rather than a particularistic ethic. In interpersonal relations, the weight of the value system is on the side of 'horizontal' rather than 'vertical' emphases: peer-relations, not superordinate-subordinate relations; equality rather than hierarchy. Subject to increased strains and modifications, the received culture emphasizes individual personality rather than group identity and responsibility. In broadest outline, then, American society is characterized by a basic moral orientation, involving emphases on active, instrumental mastery of the world in accordance with universalistic standards of performance. . . ." (Ref. 1, pp. 421-470 passim.)

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Author-columnist-teacher Max Lerner views the American character in its contemporary world context: "Commentators on American traits delight in quoting De Crevecoeur's classic remark that 'the American is a new man who acts on new principles.' One should add that while the American was a novus homo when De Crevecoeur wrote his Letters from an American Farmer toward the end of the 18th century, he is no longer so in the mid-20th. He is no longer an experiment: he has been proved a success, by every standard of wealth, glitter, prestige, freedom, and power. Wherever history pours fresh molten metal, in industrial achievement, living standards, and political freedom, inevitably it makes him at least in part the mold. The American has become the 'New World man'--the archetypal man of the West. . . . Americans are not loved in the world today, although they deeply desire affection. In the countries of color there is a good deal of suspicion of them, and even some hatred. In the older civilizations of Europe there is a kind of patronizing contempt which passes for anti-Americanism. Throughout the world there is a fear of the current American stress on arms and money. Yet it remains true that the principal imperialism the American exercises is the imperialism of attraction. If he is not admired, he is envied; and even his enemies and rivals pay him the homage of imitation. People throughout the world turn almost as by a tropism to the American image. To be American is no longer to be only a nationality. It has become, along with Communism and in rivalry with it, a key pattern of action and values. So summary a conquest of the world imagination, never before achieved without arms and colonization, is proof of an inner harmony between America and the modern spirit. It is because of this harmony that America has acted as a suction force, drawing from everywhere people attuned to its basic modes of life. . . . There has been from the start a marriage of true minds between the American and the type-man of the modern era, the New World man. To the question, wonderfully put in 1782 by De Crevecoeur in his American Farmer, 'What then is the American, this new man?' De Tocqueville sought an answer on his visit in the 1830's. The greatness of his book lay at least partly in its portrayal of a young civilization in which incipient European forces could reach their climactic form. In America the main trends of tendency that were dammed up in Europe itself were to find expression. As Robert Payne has put it, 'America is Europe with all the walls down.' Although . . . America is a definable civilization in itself, it first emerged as an offshoot from the larger entity of the West which was seeking a New World form. The American is the concentrated embodiment of Western man, more sharply delineated, developed under more urgent conditions, but with most of the essential traits present." (Ref. 2, pp. 61-2)

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PART II - MINORITIES IN AMERICAN LIFE

"A minority in a sociological sense is a group that suffers some type of discrimination or exploitation at the hands of another group." (Ref. 1, p. 877) "People that have undergone subordination in intergroup relations are generally referred to as minorities; their superordinates in status may be called either 'majorities' or dominant groups. According to traditional usage, the concepts minority and dominant or majority do not apply to every conceivable type of social group, but only to racial, religious, or ethnic (nationality) groups. In each case members of the group regard themselves and are regarded by others as distinctive in biological, cultural, psychological, or historical aspects. Besides being subject to subordination, minorities are underprivileged in one or more ways and they are the targets of prejudice. Usually they are on the defensive, acutely sensitive to group alignments and their status therein. . . . Like minorities, dominant or majority groups do not necessarily depend on their numerical position in relation to other groups to account for their social status. They are not statistical categories, despite the literal meanings of the terms minority and majority. A majority group need not be larger in numbers than a minority group. Sociologically speaking, majorities are those races, religious groups, and nationalities that have social power, the ability to exploit the service or regulate the subservience of other groups. This they can do by utilizing any source of power — weapons, property, financial resources, special knowledge, managerial and executive function, and eminence derived from myths, legend, and history. The social power enjoyed by majorities or dominant groups becomes embedded in the mores. Furthermore, their domination of minorities is supported by systems of enacted law and status ascription. It is rationalized by ethnocentrism, stereotypes, and elaborate theories of biological determinism. In the power relations between dominant and minority groups there is persistent conflict varying in degrees of intensity and explicitness. Whereas dominant groups tend to seek to suppress minority assertion and to retain the status quo in the distribution of power, minorities attempt either to gain autonomy or to achieve equality of status and opportunity. Reciprocally perceptible differences are helpful in perpetuating dominant and minority group relations. These may be alleged as well as real, and they may be somatic, cultural, or both. In the course of time, the relations between dominant and minority groups are institutionalized by a 'vicious circle' of stimuli and responses. The social inferiority of the minority group tends to provide justification for the dominant group's discrimination against them. This, in turn, works to make minority group individuals respond in ways that further strengthen the stereotypes held about them. Memberships in minority and dominant groups are not mutually exclusive. It is possible for a person to have dominant and minority roles simultaneously. This possibility stems from the fact that the minority-dominant group typology has a three-fold foundation in race, religion, and nationality. In addition there are secondary status-providing traits such as nativity. For example, while most people think of American Negroes as a minority group, one must remember that American Negroes are for the most part native-born, Gentiles, and Protestants. As such they cannot avoid much of the dominant-group psychology and inevitably many of them share the hostility against the foreign-born, Jews, and Roman Catholics. Similarly, most Roman Catholics in the United States, members of a prominent religious minority, are simultaneously not only Gentiles but preponderantly whites. These identifications give them two significant dominant-group roles. American Jews, too, as whites, are also in position to couple a dominant group status with the minority status of being Jewish. These are but a few of the many varieties of jointly held and conflicting roles played by [illegible] race, religious group, or nationality." (Ref. 2, pp. 3-5)

"Conventionally, the majority [or dominant group in the United States] is defined as the white, Protestant, native-born segment of the population — with antecedents who are Anglo-Saxon or from Germany, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia. There are thus many racial, religious, and ethnic minorities. . . . All minorities added together —

nonwhites, Catholics, Jews — comprise at least 45 percent of the population." (Ref. 3, pp. 277-278) Following are descriptions of some of the best-known types of American minorities.

American Indians. "Historically, the first of the contemporary minority groups in what is now the United States was the American Indian." (Ref. 1, p. 877) "White colonizers from the beginning fought the Indians who opposed their settlements. Eventually the white man drove most of them out of their territory." (Ref. 4, pp. 648-649) "Treaties made by the United States with Indian tribes were repeatedly broken, and wars between the tribes and whites continued until near the end of the 19th century. Some of the defeated tribes disappeared by amalgamation with others or through wars and epidemics, but many became wards of the federal government, living on reservations. After the practice of conducting Indian relations by treaty was abandoned in 1871, internal tribal affairs became subject to increasing regulation. The General Allotment Act of 1887 failed to encourage individual land ownership as desired. It was repealed by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which allowed greater tribal self-government and provided loan funds for economic purposes. Meanwhile, an act of 1924 extended citizenship to all Indians born within the United States." (Ref. 1, p. 877) Today, "about 220,000 Indian people have left the reservation way of life and have been established in cities and suburbs. But at least 380,000 still live on or near reservations. The birth-rate of reservation Indians is about double the national average, but their life expectancy is only about two-thirds that of the national average. By a wide margin they are the most impoverished of all American minorities, with a rate of unemployment ten times the national average. . . . While the federal government maintains protective control over reservation life, especially in matters of loans, education, and health, Indians nowhere any longer are 'wards of the government.' As American citizens they are free to vote and live and work where they please. But government efforts to 'integrate' them by encouraging migration to cities have been dubiously successful. Most 'relocated' Indians live in slums, and it has been estimated that at least one-third of them drift back to the reservations. Efforts to bring industry near or into the reservations have so far resulted in a few successful ventures, but distance from markets and supplies, and a labor force of low-average skill, remain discouraging factors." (Ref. 3, p. 281) "Cultural barriers, ancestral pride, rural isolation, general poverty, and special legal status have kept contacts with the larger society at a minimum. Although the progress of acculturation has varied from tribe to tribe, the Indian minority as a whole has resisted cultural assimilation to an unexpected degree." (Ref. 1, pp. 877-878) "Controversy now exists between those white Americans who [espouse a policy of helping the Indians improve their economic welfare within maximum possible retention of their tribal identities and cultures] and those who want to see the tribes liquidated and Indians as individuals put on their own like other Americans. The policy of the federal government toward Indians continues to reflect these contrasting viewpoints.

Negroes. Importation of Negro slaves to the English colonies began in 1619. Thus the new nation, born in 1776, inherited a slave minority brutally forced into subservience." (Ref. 5, p. 3) "Slavery was an evil institution and inconsistent with the principles of democracy to which the United States aspired. Its abolition and the period of Reconstruction, however, were followed by disfranchisement and other disabilities and by virtual 'caste' status for Negroes. Since they were effectively prevented from voting in most of the South, they lacked power to protest inequalities of opportunity in education, employment, and living conditions, and they remained subservient to the requirements of the plantation system. Until World War I, the vast majority of Negroes lived in the South. When immigration from abroad was cut off by the outbreak of the war, industrialists found a ready source of cheap labor in the Negro. More than half a million Negroes moved into northern cities during World War I alone, and by 1930 more than 21 million had left the South for the North. Migration was accelerated by technological changes in cotton growing and then by the need for industrial labor in World War II. By

1960 only 58 percent of the total Negro population remained in the South, and significantly, nearly three-fourths of it was found to be urban. In some respects the position of the Negro minority in metropolitan areas can be compared with that of earlier [European] immigrant groups. It is concentrated in the central cities. On the positive side, economic, educational, political, and social opportunities have improved slowly, and a minority of Negroes has attained middle-class status. On the negative side, the typical problems of the immigrant minorities in slums and substandard housing have been aggravated; these include physical and mental illness, family disorganization, truancy, illegitimacy, delinquency, crime, and the like. As a result of conditions under slavery and after emancipation in the rural South, lower-class Negroes have been deprived of stable family and religious traditions such as the European immigrant groups possessed. Their situation is made more precarious because their entry into urban areas occurred at a time when the demand for unskilled labor was steadily decreasing. Finally, unlike the children and grandchildren of the immigrants — who could learn English, take on American ways of behavior, and lose their visibility as members of ethnic groups — the descendants of Negro in-migrants remain identifiable by the color of their skin." (Ref. 1, pp. 878-880) Today, "in spite of their long residence in the country and considerable improvement in their welfare, Negroes still occupy the lowest status of all American minorities. The nation as a whole is in the midst of a major crisis in Negro-white relations." (Ref. 5, p. 3)

Orientals. "Peoples of Asian ancestry [principally Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos] are largely concentrated on the West Coast [and in Hawaii], and they comprise a minute fraction of the population." (Ref. 3, pp. 281-282) "None of the Oriental groups is large because their immigration has been so severely restricted. The first important group of Orientals to come to the United States were Chinese laborers imported to build the Union Pacific Railroad." (Ref. 4, p. 650) They were soon followed by other Chinese and then Japanese; after the acquisition of the Philippines at the turn of the century some Filipinos migrated to the states. "At first [Orientals] were tolerated with condescension as exploitable labor. But as these people, particularly the Japanese, began to succeed in competition with native whites, further immigration was curtailed by the government. Those who remained were fixed in a pattern of segregated minority status little altered until the drastic relocation of the Japanese during World War II. This latter unique epoch in the history of American minorities revealed a certain ineptitude and immaturity in the handling of minority group problems. Since the war the economic status of both the Chinese and Japanese has improved, and discrimination against them has markedly declined. While evacuation dispersed the Japanese somewhat, many of the evacuees returned to the West Coast. Of all non-European minorities, the native-born Japanese have achieved the highest welfare, and are widely accepted as good Americans although largely still identified also as Japanese. Substantial segments of the Chinese, partly by their own choice, are still considerably insulated in Chinatowns. Immigration of both Chinese and Japanese has greatly increased since the passage of postwar immigration legislation. . . . Hawaii presents a distinctive picture. Though this small archipelago has an amazingly heterogeneous ethnic composition, the general impression prevails that it is a paradise of harmonious interracial relations. The impression needs some qualification in the light of the relation between Caucasian and non-Caucasian groups. But the admission of Hawaii to statehood in 1959 reflected the weakening influence of mainland racist idealogy." (Ref. 5, pp. 4-5)

"Spanish-Speaking Peoples. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Spanish-speaking peoples are officially designated as Caucasians and do not properly belong in a listing of racial minorities. On the other hand, most of the nine million Spanish-speaking persons in the United States are physically distinguishable, and this fact has affected their life in this country." (Ref. 3, p. 282) "Mexicans. Following the restriction of European immigration [in the 1920's,] a large influx of Mexicans into the Southwest began. The usual pattern of native-immigrant interaction occurred: welcome as menial

labor [illegible], discrimination otherwise." (Ref. 5, pp. 4-5) "The Mexicans have been an economically and socially subordinate group, and the native white population in the Southwest has often reacted toward them in a discriminatory fashion. In many places the Mexican is segregated and cut off from full participation in the community life." (Ref. 4, p. 65) "In the whole United States persons descended from former or current Mexican national lineage number now [about five] million, thus being one of the larger minority groups. In the Southwest also there are descendants of the Spanish-speaking people who inhabited the region when the Anglos invaded and subsequently annexed the whole area. Known as 'hispanos' they make up a substantial part of New Mexico's population. While they have never been formally discriminated against, hispanos still constitute a distinct ethnic component. Their economic and health conditions for years ranked among the lowest in the nation." (Ref. 5, p. 5) "Puerto Ricans. The most recent migrants to continental United States are the Puerto Ricans. Strictly speaking, they are not immigrants, because Puerto Rico is part of the United States, yet their culture has Spanish origins, and their native tongue is Spanish." (Ref. 1, p. 880) "At first largely localized in New York City, Puerto Ricans now are spreading across the nation." (Ref. 5, p. 5) "Although there are many similarities between the plight of the Negro and the Puerto Rican, their situations are not identical. The vast majority of Puerto Ricans are white and in some cases are able to pass completely out of Puerto Rican society. Those with darker skin escape classification with Negroes by pointing out their Spanish background. [But,] like Negroes, Puerto Ricans encounter discrimination in housing, their language difficulty presents problems in the field of education, their incomes are low, and their crime rate is higher than expected. Because of concentration of Puerto Rican residents, there tends to be de facto segregation in the schools in some areas." (Ref. 1, p. 880)

European Immigrants — Ethnic Groups. "Even before American Negroes moved from slavery to the status of a minority caste, there began an influx from Europe which was destined to change the character of the United States profoundly. First came the Irish, Scandinavians, and Germans, later the southern and eastern Europeans. The customs of these various peoples differed markedly from those of the 'natives.' The relation of these various peoples to the older residents followed a similar pattern, beginning with indifference, antagonism, and conflict and ending with [a large measure of] acceptance. . . . Once restriction of European immigration went into effect with the Immigration Act of 1924, an important era in United States history came to an end. . . . This era of minority relations drew to a close as the result of indirect social forces rather than any direct and purposeful planning. Compared with the situation involving other minorities, it is no longer a problem." (Ref. 5, pp. 3-4) "An ethnic group is a foreign-stock segment of the population which preserves in some degree a distinctive way of life, in language, mannerism, habit, loyalty, and the like. As most sociologists use the term, however, an individual might be classified as belonging to an ethnic group even though his attitudes and behavior were indistinguishable from those of the majority. A person may be a member of a distinctive ethnic group even though his parents and grandparents were born in this country, provided he either identifies himself with that segment of the population or is so identified by others. (Ref. 3, p. 277) As "ethnic groups [the descendants of the various European immigrant nationalities have tended] to lose much of their internal cohesiveness in time. Advancement in education, income, and job status does not necessarily sever family ties or end sentimental reminiscence about the old days — or, indeed, prevent a continuing preference into the third generation for choosing friends among others of that generation with approximately the same status. But the requirements of moving around, entering, and leaving new group relationships, and grasping a new world in order to 'get ahead,' do not serve to preserve an old way of life. It is not so much that late representatives of old ethnic groups have been 'assimilated' as they participate in creating a new way of life. . . . Economic interests have displaced ethnic interests, and when an ethnic group ceases to be 'proletarian' in cast its persisting reality is in doubt far beyond the near-disappearance

of foreign-language newspapers and the fragmentation of bloc voting. Outside the economic and political realms, however, a degree of conscious separation is retained, particularly in matters of religion and social relations, even though the lines drawn are much less sharp than before. The separation [becomes] largely voluntary, and characterized by an increasingly cheerful appreciation of one another's differences." (Ref. 3, pp. 282-283)

"Religious Minorities: Catholics and Jews. Since the United States has been primarily a Protestant nation, residents with non-Protestant backgrounds have generally had some degree of minority status. Protestant discrimination against Roman Catholics and Jews has been a constant phenomenon, although its more overt manifestations have been intermittent. Antipathy toward the Irish, for example, has been directed as much toward them for being Catholic as for being Irish, partly because of the aggressive leadership of the Irish in American Catholicism. The later immigrant groups of predominantly Catholic background — Italians, Poles, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans — were viewed more as 'foreigners' than as Catholics. The story of Americans of Jewish ancestry presents several unique facets. . . . Broadly speaking, Jews accommodated to American life more quickly and successfully than other non-Protestant European immigrants. Gentile discrimination against them has been a constant phenomenon at least since the 1880's. The Jews are not a race, nor do they fit the common definition of a nationality. Their identification with a distinctive religion and related cultural elements and their long struggle in the Diaspora to maintain their distinctiveness has given them a persistent collective identity. The status of Jews in the United States today is a subject of much dispute. . . . With certainty we can state that there is among Gentiles a substantial volume of prejudice against Jews and, perhaps small in total amount but often virulent, anti-Semitic activity; and among Jews there are clearly identifiable subcommunities heavily concentrated in metropolitan areas. . . .

"Social Problems Created by Dominant-Minority Relations. Sociologists have taken the position that whether certain social facts constitute a problem or not depends on the value system of the viewer of the facts. For example, to many Americans the segregation of Negroes is simply in the natural order of things, while to many others any group discrimination is a moral issue. Furthermore, the definition of the problem varies with personal value systems. To a traditional white Southerner the rising militancy of Negroes ignites the problem of 'how to keep them in their place,' while to the liberal the problem is 'how best to cooperate with these minority efforts to advance toward complete equality.' The value system [adopted in the following discussion] derives from two beliefs: (1) that democracy is the most desirable form of social organization; and (2) that the welfare of the society as a whole properly takes precedence over the welfare of any special groups within this whole. . . . Ineffective Use of Abilities. All minorities are discriminated against to some extent in the choice of their employment; some are discriminated against in training for specific occupations. Since there is a wide range of mental capacities in all minorities, occupational discrimination results in ineffective use of potential manpower. . . . Adverse Effect on National Income. It has been argued that minority discrimination retards the growth of national income. In regard to the traditional disparity in Negro income with that of whites, [it has been suggested] that 'the income gap closed appreciably during World War II but very slowly and erratically during the postwar period.' Still further rise in the relative purchasing power of minorities would stimulate the demand for consumer goods. Many factors conspire to make the Deep South the poorest economic region of the nation, but the poverty of its large Negro population is clearly one of the most important reasons. And discrimination is an important factor contributing to this poverty. Deviant Behavior. The belief has been widely held by people with dominant status that minorities furnish more than their share of sociopathic behavior, such as juvenile delinquency, adult crime, mental disease, or other 'pathologies.' Research sometimes indicates that a particular minority does in fact show a disproportionate amount of some of these

phenomena; sometimes the facts show the minority group to manifest less than their proportion. . . . Social science finds three broad factors provocative of disorganization: (1) the inevitable strain which a people of different culture faces in adjusting to a new situation; (2) the influence of the environmental conditions associated with the spatial and economic position of the minority, such as living in slum areas; and (3) frustrations and resentments growing out of discrimination itself. It is this last class of causes which is least generally recognized and which more directly pertains to our analysis. A Negro boy may steal because he is poor, but he may also steal as a way of 'getting even' with white people. In the latter instance, the direct influence of minority status as a causal factor in delinquency is evident. Whatever the incidence of disorganization among minorities, part of it may properly be attributed to the impact of minority status on personality. Intergroup Tension and Violence. Dominant-minority group situations, especially in rapidly changing societies, inevitably create intergroup tensions which intermittently produce violent conflict with attendant bloodshed and economic waste. This was a permanent fact for a long time prior to the current 'Negro Revolt.' The North experienced many race riots before World War II. Lynching of Negroes was long a practice in the South. While in the decades before 1954 lynching had greatly declined, the present heightened conflict in Negro-white relations has increased violence and created new modes of its expression." (Ref. 5, pp. 5-9) Inconsistency in Values. "Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish social scientist, studied America's paramount intergroup problem, the so-called Negro problem, and came to the conclusion that it was more appropriate to refer to it as 'an American dilemma.' True, there is an American creed, a system of general ideals and norms governing human relations. All Americans, regardless of group affiliation, find that the Declaration of Independence, the preamble to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and their Judaeo-Christian heritage offer them formulas such as the essential dignity of the individual, the fundamental equality of all, and inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and fair opportunity. But in addition to this official creed there is an unofficial creed [according to which] America belongs to 'real' Americans and not to Negroes, Catholics, Jews, and 'foreigners.'" (Ref. 2, p. 5) "While several studies have raised considerable doubt as to how far American citizens concern themselves with this moral dilemma, viewed objectively it is a gross inconsistency in values." (Ref. 5, p. 9) Adverse Effect on America's Position in World Affairs. "As a leading world power, the United States has found that a dilemma of this kind generates serious international . . . effects. Rivals in the struggle for political and economic leadership have been quick to seize upon minority group problems [in the United States] and to exploit them to their own advantage in the struggle for world power." (Ref. 2, pp. 5-6)

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TOPICS

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE

"The Negro, in spite of his deprivations and handicaps—indeed in some respects because of them—has played two constructive roles in the course of his more than three hundred years in America. He has acted as what might be termed a potent artistic leaven in American arts and letters; he is serving, in the apt phrase of J. Saunders Redding, as a powerful 'catalyst of American democracy.' Recalling the extent of the Negro's physical and intellectual participation in the struggle for his own freedom as slave fugitive, slave insurrectionist, anti-slavery writer and orator, Union soldier in the Civil War, and civil-rights contestant thereafter, we might well add that the Negro is best identified as a proud collaborator in the advance of American democracy." (Ref. 1, pp. 6-7) "Slavery . . . planted the Negro deep in the subsoil of American life and made him culturally a basic American. The domestic and rural form that slavery took necessitated particularly intimate group contacts and both forced and made possible the rapid assimilation of the white man's civilization, language, religion, and folkways. This cultural transfusion was considerably reinforced by wide interbreeding and admixture of blood. . . . On both [the] physical and the cultural bases, American slavery is revealed as the institution directly responsible for undermining its own chief contentions about color and cultural difference. Originally there were wide physical and cultural differences between the two races. Now there is mainly a contrary-to-fact tradition of difference." (Ref. 1, p. 10)

The Negro in American Culture.

"In a consideration of the Negro folk, we fortunately can leave the risky though necessary level of all-inclusive generalization about 'the Negro.' At best, such generalization can give us only the barest common denominators, the broadest trends, and the diffuse features characteristic of all composite portraits. The subject of the Negro folk, on the other hand, has flesh-and-bone concreteness, and promises to reveal more of the human reality and texture of Negro life and character." (Ref. 1, p. 19) "Let us consider a typical instance, that of the humble but triumphant invasion of Negro humor. Behind the humor, seemingly so simple and natural, are a very complex pattern and a complicated social history. Frequently masking sorrow, and sometimes impotent resentment, the Negro's laughter was certainly more contrived and artificial than natural and spontaneous, despite contrary Southern conviction. Grasping with a desperation that an instinct for survival developed, the Negro early learned the humble, effective art of placating his capricious masters. In time, with the masters' hearty and constant encouragement, the Negroes became established as the South's official jesters. . . . Because the comic side of the Negro offered no offense or challenge to the South's tradition of the Negro's subordinate status, it richly colored Southern local and regional culture, and eventually that of the white nation. The improvised plantation entertainment of ragamuffin groups of dancing, singing, jigging, and grinning slaves, staple amusement of the theaterless South, was the genesis of a major form of the American theater: blackface minstrelsy and its later stepchild, vaudeville. Together they dominated the national stage for a period of at least seventy years (1830-1900). . . . What is of particular interest for the moment is the far different fate of another and even more representative aspect of the Negro folk genius. It must not be overlooked that the comic 'jig-song and dance' and the serious, almost tragic 'spirituals' were plantation contemporaries. The South that gleefully heard the one must at least have overheard the other. However, the religious folk songs, though equally odd and attractive, did not meet a receptive Southern

mood: in fact they ran counter to the stock conception of the Negro's character and status. They are barely mentioned in the whole range of the literature of the pre-Civil War South; in its post-bellum letters they receive only the most casual and indifferent notice. . . . At the close of the Civil War, a Northerner, spurred by the sensitive interest of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (colonel of one of the black regiments that served heroically on the Union side), explored with sympathetic curiosity the group life of the Negro freedmen in refugee camps. Noticing what he called 'these peculiar but haunting slave songs,' he took them seriously and thereby made the momentous discovery of the American Negro's now universally recognized musical genius. He was William Allen, and in 1867, he published Slave Songs of the United States, a transcribed collection of the melodies he heard. Out of such chance recovery from generations-long neglect and belittlement, these 'slave songs,' the unique spiritual portrait of the Negro folk temperament, rose to final recognition and universal acclaim as the incomparable 'Negro spirituals.' . . .

"In the arts, as in matters political, economic, and social, the Negro advance has been a slow, tortuous journey from slavery toward freedom. Step by step, and from one province to another, Negro genius and talent have plodded a hard road to freer and more representative artistic self-expression. . . . Faster progress, as might be expected, has been made in those areas where there was an early start in well-developed folk art. This explains very obviously why the Negro was outstanding in vocal and choral music earlier than he was successful with instrumental music; again, there was a great skill and preference for improvisation as opposed to formal musical composition. The Negro has, in fact, many generally recognized qualities of special excellence in the arts. His talents, however, are best understood and interpreted as the cumulative effects of folk tradition and group conditioning. This interpretation belies the popular hypothesis that some mysterious 'folk traits' or native ethnic endowment are responsible for Negro artistic capabilities and expression. What might be called, for lack of a better term, 'folk virtuosities' must be credited to the special character and circumstances of the Negro group experience. The artistic 'virtuosities' have been passed on by way of social heritage; they are just that: a heritage, not an endowment. Among these artistic virtuosities may be mentioned what is often referred to as the 'gift of spontaneous harmony.' This is really a transmitted musical ear-mastery based on group choral singing, and is very like that of the Welsh or Russian peasants. Similarly to be explained is the Negro musician's instrumental versatility in improvisation and inventive sound and rhythm, lying back of the resourceful impromptu musicianship and extraordinary techniques of jazz. Like the phenomenal, unorthodox resources of the gypsy performer, the techniques go back to the ready skills and tricks of the humble folk musician. Other outstanding Negro artistic 'gifts' include an unusual fluency of oral expression, both forceful rhetoric and spectacular imagery. The Negro has, also, a marked, almost intuitive, skill in mimicry, pantomime, and dramatic projection. Above all, he has a virtuoso facility in rhythm, both formal and spontaneous, which is the taproot of his notable aptitude in dance and body-control. . . . By virtue of these folk qualities and their artistic manifestations, the foundations, of which were well laid before the end of slavery, the Negro has made America considerably his cultural debtor. For here in the United States there has been no exception to the historical rule that the roots of a national culture are in its soil and its peasantry. Accordingly, some of the most characteristic features of American culture are derivatives of the folk art and spirit of this darker tenth of the population. . . . The inventory of this humble but influential contribution is impressive: the spirituals, Uncle Remus, a whole strain of distinctive humor, some of the most typical varieties of Southern folk balladry, a major form and tradition of the American theater (the minstrel and vaudeville), and practically all of the most characteristic idioms of modern American popular music and dance. Many of these idioms, of course, have been blended with elements from the majority culture, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse; but their Negro origin and distinctive uniqueness are now universally acknowledged. This adds up to a patterning

of a substantial part of the native American art forms and to an unusually large share in molding and sustaining the entertainment life of the whole nation." (Ref. 1, pp. 24-36, passim)

"With the migrations that took thousands of Negroes to urban centers during and after World War I, Negro creative artists acquired a broader, less subjective, freer tone. With the economic depression of the thirties and the revitalizing force of the New Deal, Negro artists proved themselves expressive or articulate, though propagandistic intent too frequently frustrated true artistic maturity. At the highest level, Negro artists have relegated 'color' to its proper position: that of biological and aesthetic accident. The chief cultural contribution of the Negro to America, however, is in the folk arts. Of secondary importance has been the Negro's nearly exact paralelling of the literary and art history of white America. The futility of trying to substitute an arbitary, artificial barrier like a 'color line' for a natural or accepted boundary of language, creed, or culture is obvious. Historical circumstances have made it necessary that the Negro-white minority-majority issue be settled or resolved within the context of a common culture. Any adequate understanding of the Negro's special position in American society and culture depends upon full understanding of this point, which explains why the American Negro, though forced by majority attitudes of exclusion and rejection to take on a defensive attitude of racialism, has rarely set up separate cultural values or developed divergent institutional loyalties or political objectives. On the whole, Negro racialism has remained what it has been historically: an enforced, protective counterattitude. Accordingly, although becoming more racially militant and protesting with each generation in years past, in each decade more recently, and almost daily since [the Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in public schools] . . . , the American Negro is militant and protestant within the pattern of American militancy and protest." (Ref. 1, pp. 284-285).

Contributions of Negroes to American Civilization

"American music has been notably enriched by the gifts of Negroes. The melodies of Stephen Foster's 'Old Folks at Home' and 'My Old Kentucky Home' have been labeled Ethiopian. The official state song of Virginia, 'Carry Me Back to Old Virginny,' was the composition of a Negro, James Bland. Whether the spirituals stem from white camp meetings or are essentially African, the singing of spirituals has been largely monopolized by Negroes. Also peculiarly Negro are hollers, worksongs, ballads, and blues. W. C. Handy's 'St. Louis Blues' is generally considered the masterpiece in this last medium. Jazz, the most peculiarly American form of folk music, was originated by Negroes. Many of the leading practitioners of jazz, swing, bop, and other popular and folk musical idioms are colored. Negro concert artists have been acclaimed among the most famous of their generations: Sissieretta Jones . . . , Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Roland Hayes, . . . Paul Robeson [and Leontyne Price], to name only a few. Dean Dixon has served as guest conductor of several orchestras. Harry T. Burleigh's and Nathaniel R. Dett's musical compositions will probably remain in albums of great music by Americans. 'Bojangles' Robinson was not only proclaimed as one of the greatest tap dancers of all times, but was also the teacher of many famous stage, screen, and radio stars. Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus have given social significance to Caribbean and African dances. In musical comedies Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, and Lena Horne have delighted audiences at home and abroad, and Ethel Waters has been one of the most talented actresses of this era. Bert Williams was generally considered one of the greatest comedians of the American stage. Serious roles for the Negro on the stage have been more restricted than the comic roles that long were Negro stereotypes. Ira Aldridge, the Shakespearean actor, had to reach his triumphs abroad in the nineteenth century. But Paul Robeson in Othello, Richard Harrison as the Lord in Green Pastures . . . , Todd Duncan in Lost in the Stars, and Sidney Poitier in Raisin in the Sun are only the most outstanding of an increasing number of more than competent actors on the legitimate stage.

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"The contributions of Negroes to fiction have been handicapped by the stereotyping by white authors of Negroes as buffoons, loyal servants, criminals and tragic mulattoes. That Negroes have the virtues and vices of other peoples has been notably demonstrated in the writings of Charles W. Chesnutt, Jean Toomer, Jessie Fauset . . . , Richard Wright [and James Baldwin]. Frank Yerby has successfully exploited the formula of blood and thunder and sex in a series of best sellers. The formal literature of social protest includes some Negroes whose writings and orations have a permanent place in American thought. Frederick Douglass and Samuel Ringgold Ward in the nineteenth century and W. E. B. DuBois in the twentieth have written and spoken in the tradition of Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and the elder La Follette. . . . While no Negro historian, understandably, has achieved the broad sweep of Prescott, Henry Adams, Bancroft, or MacMaster, others besides DuBois have made notable contributions to American historiography. George Washington Williams' History of the Negro Race in America (1882) has been to later historians what Bancroft's History of the United States had been to subsequent historians of the early period of United States History. Carter G. Woodson reopened almost the entire field of historical studies about the Negro in the United States and in foreign lands. . . . John Hope Franklin's writings have . . . established for him a sure place among the best contemporary American historians. Other Negro historians . . . [are] Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, and Ira De A. Reid . . . .

"Negro poets, from the days of Phillis Wheatley in the Colonial period to the most recent period, when Gwendolyn Brooks won the 1950 Pulitzer Prize for poetry, have mastered both folk poems and the classical forms. Paul Laurence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, and Sterling Brown are among the best known and the most gifted. . . . While Henry O. Tanner stands preeminent among Negro painters and is rightly considered one of the great painters of modern times, the list of other accomplished painters, sculptors, and graphic artists is too long even to enumerate. . . . The achievements of Negroes in sports are almost legendary. Tom Molineaux, born a slave in 1784, is generally recognized as the first boxing champion in the United States. So many Negroes have been champions from that day to the era of Joe Louis that the catalogue of names would be pointless. . . . Jesse Owens, triple winner at the Olympic games in Berlin in 1936, is perhaps the greatest of the many stars who have established records on the track. . . . [In baseball, the long roster of players includes such "greats" as Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, Don Newcombe, Larry Doby, Marion Motley, Luke Easter, and Bill Willis.] Booker T. Washington made such notable advances in industrial and vocational education that Tuskegee was visited by educators not only from this country but abroad. George Washington Carver, also of Tuskegee, . . . revolutionized the peanut industry and discovered numerous new uses also for the sweet potato. Dr. George Cleveland Hall is usually credited with performing the first successful operation on the heart. . . . Despite the limited opportunities in government, some Negroes have rendered notable service. William H. Hastie, first Negro to be appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands, . . . [was later] Judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals. . . . Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune . . . held a number of important governmental positions. . . . Robert C. Weaver held important positions in the Department of Interior, United States Housing Authority, . . . Office of Production Management before being named [Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in 1961]. . . . Dr. Ralph J. Bunche rose to the position of Associate Chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs in the State Department, was Assistant Secretary to the United States Delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and [later Director of Trusteeship in the United Nations and Under Secretary of that organization]. . . . He was awarded the coveted Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for his successful mediation in the Palestine War." (Ref. 2, pp. 39-44) Thurgood Marshall was appointed judge on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals by President Kennedy in 1961.

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MEXICAN AMERICANS

Numbers and Distribution. "Mexican Americans make up [one of the largest minorities] in the United States. According to 1960 census figures the estimate was 5,189,837 - 2.89% of the population of the United States." (Ref. 1, p. 129) In 1969 the estimate was 7,500,000. (Ref. 2, p. 10) "Furthermore it is a young, fast-growing population. The median age in 1960 was 20, as contrasted with 30 for 'white' Americans as a whole. Figures for family size in five southwestern states in 1960 show double the percentage of families with more than four children for Mexican Americans than for Anglo Americans" (Ref. 1, pp. 129-130) "Nearly nine-tenths of the Mexican Americans live in the five southwestern states of California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado." (Ref. 2, p. 10) "Two-thirds live in California and Texas. About 80% are now found in urban areas, similar to the proportion for Anglo Americans." (Ref. 1, p. 130) "Moving off the farms and into the cities, they have crowded together in barrios – ghetto-like neighborhoods such as East Los Angeles where 600,000 Mexican Americans live. One thousand new residents pour into the barrios of southwestern cities each week. Their wages are often low and their housing poor. Delinquency and drug addiction rates are high. Recent studies show that more than half of these Mexican Americans do not attend school beyond the eighth grade. One third of all Mexican-American families live below the poverty line of $3,000 a year." (Ref. 2, p. 11)

"Patterns of Migration. The greatest proportion of Mexican Americans have migrated since the annexation of the territories of the Southwest. Trends in immigration have largely been affected by the 'pull' of employment opportunities, and the 'push' of adverse economic or political conditions in Mexico. Immigration declined sharply during the Depression. Then the great demands for manpower during World War II precipitated a rise which reached a peak about 1953. Until the enforcement of immigration restriction after 1929, Mexicans crossed the border freely. Wetbacks. The enforcement of immigration restrictions led to the growth of illegal migration, with people popularly designated as 'wetbacks.' These people crossed the Rio Grande in large numbers. Illegal ferry services were maintained at designated points along the river. The crossing was made at night on flatboats or rafts. This type of illegal entry was hazardous and often unsuccessful. The border patrol returned thousands, but though most of the wetbacks came with the intention of working only for the crop-picking season, some stayed on once they were here. Braceros. Braceros came legally to the United States as agricultural labor under contract with the Mexican government. Many of them liked the United States and decided to stay. The statute admitting this type of seasonal labor was allowed to expire at the end of 1964 and Braceros are no longer admitted. Immigration restriction has affected the Mexican American as it has other migrants. Today 85% of Mexican Americans are native born and 50% are third generation." (Ref. 1, pp. 130-131)

Differential Characteristics. "Physical. The 'racial' composition of the population of Mexico has been in this century approximately 10% white, 60% mestizo (mixed Indian and white), and 30% Indian. Since the immigrants to the United States have been more numerous from the latter two elements, especially the mestizo, it is not surprising that the results of the U.S. Census of 1930, enumerating the Mexican stock by racial designation as 'white' and 'colored' for the first and only time, showed less than 5% as 'white.' This considerable admixture of Indian traits does not have any significance in relation to behavior capacities or traits, since there is no evidence that Indians are inferior in innate capacity. The mestizo cultures are more Latin-American than Indian. The Indian strain does, however, give the Mexican-American group a darker appearance. Mexican Americans are not a homogenous group in appearance, but are often identifiable. To the extent that they are predominantly now American born, they are also showing some physical changes (such as) increase in stature, hand length, and nasal index . . . . Cultural. The value system of Mexican Americans has been traditionally associated

with the concept of La Raza (the race). In the sense this term is used it has no relation to the racialism of American WASPS. La Raza is a cultural concept. It applies to all Latin-Americans who are united by cultural and spiritual bonds. It implies that God has planned a great destiny for this people, though it may never be attained because of the individual sins of its members. In other words it is a concept of peoplehood and destiny, creating deep psychic bonds. . . . Religion. Religion and culture are closely intertwined in the average Mexican American household. The presence of a family altar in the house symbolizes the family-centeredness of the culture as much as it does the [Catholic] religious faith. . . . Language. The principal language for Mexican Americans, whether first, second, or third generation, is some variant of Spanish. This is often a local dialect intermixed with hispanicized English words, and there is a considerable variation. . . . Spanish is spoken in the home as long as one identifies with the Mexican-American community. Some parents speak some English to their children 'so that it won't be so hard for them in school,' and upper-class Mexican Americans pride themselves on perfect Spanish and English. Institutional Roles. Next to family roles, 'manliness,' (machismo) is the most important community ideal. To be a 'whole man' involves a high degree of individuality, yet this is within the family framework as every Mexican American male is expected to represent his family with honor at all times. . . . Great value is put on male sexual virility with the resulting double standard of sexual morality. The approved roles for women are within the household and family." (Ref. 1, pp. 133-136)

Establishment of Anglo-American Dominance. "Spanish-speaking people have been in the Southwest for over 350 years. Some of the villages north of Santa Fe, New Mexico, were founded in 1598. A century later Spanish settlements were made in Texas, and almost two centuries later, in California. In each of these areas, distinctive Spanish cultures developed. [In all] the Mexican society was sharply divided between upper-class property owners and peons. The invader-immigrant Anglos as individuals often competed and sometimes came in conflict with the upper-class Mexicans for economic gain; however, there were many who cooperated with the ruling Mexican elements and through intermarriage became part of Mexican society. Both upper-class Mexicans and Americans considered the peons an inferior, servile class. With the increasing infiltration of Americans, however, relations between Mexican and American became more antagonistic. In Texas, where by 1836 Americans far outnumbered Mexicans, this antagonism expressed itself in a successful revolution resulting in the formation of the Republic of Texas. By the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, terminating the Mexican-American War, all the Mexican territory north of the Rio Grande became part of the United States. From this point on, American influence became dominant over Spanish-Mexican; some upper-class Mexicans attempted to join American society; the poorer and illiterate Mexicans became a distinct ethnic minority, notwithstanding the fact that they were now citizens of the United States. The antagonistic character of Anglo-Mexican relations is reflected in the terms 'gringo' and 'greaser,' which each group came to apply to the members of the other, with contemptuous implication. [Anglo-American] dominance was achieved by military aggression and by Anglo-American astuteness in seizing economic advantage. After the annexation of Texas land speculators were able to buy up land confiscated for unpaid taxes." (Ref. 1, pp. 131-133) After the Mexican War, "there were frequent conflicts over who owned the land. In 1891 a U.S. Court of Private Claims was set up to process the claims of the Spanish-speaking population, but it never finished the job, and no longer exists. In some areas the claims controversy still rages." (Ref. 2, p. 11)

"Stabilization of Dominance. Mexican immigrants in the Southwest found employment in unskilled occupations, chiefly as agricultural laborers. Their wages, in common with agricultural labor generally, were low - usually lower than that paid any Anglos employed in the same kind of work. Employers often maintained that this differential was justified because Anglo laborers were more productive than Mexicans. While by

the late 1920's an increasing number of the Mexicans were buying or building homes of their own, they did not buy farm land for themselves, and they showed little interest in sharecropping." (Ref. 1 pp. 136-137) "For all the problems of the barrios, the life of most Mexican-American farm laborers [remains] even harder. Most are still migrant workers who move from place to place according to the harvest times of various crops. They travel in broken-down cars, in rattletrap buses, or crowded into the back of trucks. Usually they live in any kind of housing they can find – leaky wooden shacks, sweltering metal huts, or even the vehicles they travel in. Many children of Mexican-American farm workers do not attend school regularly. Instead they work alongside their parents in the fields. Without schooling, migrant children rarely have a chance to do anything except farm labor. Because migrant workers move so much, they can seldom establish official residence in any one place. Therefore, they cannot vote or become eligible for the welfare and health services provided by most communities." (Ref. 2, p. 11) "Until World War II the usual devices were employed to keep Mexican Americans in subordinate status. Spatial Segregation. In towns and cities with any sizable Mexican American population there are still today the residential enclaves where the majority of this ethnic group are concentrated. Mexican Americans refer to them as 'colonia' and dominants as 'Mextown' or 'little Mexico.' Discrimination. Whereas there were few legal restrictions against Mexican Americans except in some counties, in subtle ways they were kept 'in their place.' The pattern of discrimination was summed up in an extensive study of Texas communities conducted during the war years: Economic Discrimination. (1) Unfair employment practices forcing low economical status upon the majority of Latin Americans. (2) Discrimination exercised by both management and labor unions in the admission and upgrading of Latin Americans. (3) Exploitation in agriculture. (4) Demand of growers for cheap labor carried to the extreme of favoring illegal seasonal influx workers, thereby denying employment opportunities to resident workers. Inequitable Educational Opportunities. (1) Arbitrary segregation in public schools. (2) Inability of working children to attend schools. (3) Lack of interest of school administrators in enrolling Latin American children and encouraging attendance. (4) Improperly trained teachers and inferior buildings and equipment. Social and Civil Inequalities. (1) Refusal of service in some public places of business and amusement. (2) Denial of the right to vote in some counties. (3) Denial of the right to rent or own real estate in many cities. (4) Denial of the right to serve on juries in some counties. (5) Terrorism on the part of law-enforcement officers and others." (Ref. 1, pp. 136-138)

Challenge to Dominance. For many decades "Mexican Americans [were] called the 'silent minority,' a poor but proud people. They had almost no political representation; federal poverty programs hardly touched them; they produced no leaders who could unite them; they staged few protests; and they regarded themselves as 'the nation's best-kept secret.'" (Ref. 2, pp. 11-12) World War II and Aftermath. Sporadic outbreaks of violence against Mexican Americans had long been common in the Southwest and went little noticed beyond the confines of the communities in which they occurred. The Los Angeles "zoot suit" riots of 1943, during World War II, however, received national publicity, most of it unfavorable to Mexican Americans. An incident in which servicemen stationed in the area were set upon by some Mexican boys wearing zoot suits (long draped jackets then a fad among urban Mexican-American adolescents) led promptly to several days of terrorism directed against the Mexican-American ghettoes with the apparent toleration of some police authorities. (Ref. 1, pp. 142-143) "The effect of World War II was not, however, only negative to Mexican Americans. The agencies of the federal government brought pressures to bear on employment and on local areas during the war to improve the positions of minorities. Mexican Americans were in the armed services in World War II and later in Korea. Immediately following the war many veterans began to take active roles in community leadership. Many veterans were able to buy better homes, continue their education under the G.I. Bill, and were often able to obtain better employment. Some even managed to get chosen,

appointed, or elected to public office. In Los Angeles, four years after the zoot suit riots the first American of Mexican ancestry since 1881 was elected to a municipal office. [Growth of Organizations and Political Participation.] One of the most well known Mexican-American organizations today is LULAC, the League of United Latin-American citizens. Although founded in 1929, it was more in the nature of a confederation of local social and civic clubs. It tended until recently to welfare and 'betterment' type programs: encouraging youth to finish high school, 'citizenship' education, etc. [But] LULAC now vies with other more specifically politically oriented organizations in bombarding state and federal officials with grievances. One of the outstanding developments of recent years has been the growth in political participation of Mexican Americans. [Two leading] organizations, the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and the Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO) are more militant than LULAC and more directly involved in politics. Working together these organizations have achieved some significant gains. They have been concerned with equal employment opportunities, with voter registration, and election of Mexican Americans to office. By 1951 there were four councilmen of Mexican descent in Los Angeles. Mayors were elected in El Paso (1957) and in Crystal City, Texas (1963)." (Ref. 1, pp. 144-146) Militant Leadership and Unionization. In the 1960s "two vastly different leaders [emerged] from the [Mexican-American] community: the explosive Reies Lopez Tijerina and the nonviolent Cesar Chavez. Tijerina [headed] an organization [the Alianza] which [laid claim] to thousands of acres of land in the Southwest, most of it in New Mexico. His organization maintained that this land - now owned by Anglos - rightfully belonged to the state's Spanish-speaking population. The claim was based on land grants made by Spanish kings in the 1600's and 1700's. Many Southwesterners regarded Tijerina as a troublemaker. They said the claims were wiped out at the end of the Mexican War. But [Tijerina] and his followers kept trying to get the land back. In June 1967 Tijerina was arrested after a shoot-out at a New Mexico courthouse. He was acquitted of the charges against him six months later, but the fight went on. Tijerina and his militant followers vowed: 'Tierra o muerte' (Land or death). Another important Mexican-American leader was Cesar Chavez, who headed a labor union called the National Farm Workers Association." (Ref. 2, p. 12) "In the 1940's and 1950's there had been sporadic attempts at labor organization by Mexican Americans. In 1944 the CIO International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers succeeded before the War Labor Board in eliminating discriminatory wage rates. The San Antonio teamsters union aided in the Crystal City election. But the critical problem for many Mexican Americans was that of low wages for agricultural labor. Although there had been an attempt to organize grape pickers in California in the 1930's these efforts were defeated." (Ref. 1, p. 146) "In 1965 [the National Farm Workers Association was organized and] joined a strike against California's grape growers. The main issue: whether workers had the right to bargain with management for better pay and better working conditions. [By 1969] the growers of wine grapes had recognized the union, but producers of table grapes [still had] not done so. To dramatize the workers' cause Chavez staged a 25-day fast early in 1968. The dramatic grape strike made national headlines during the 1968 presidential campaign and became a major campaign issue." (Ref. 2, pp. 12, 20) La Raza and Youth Movements. Another significant occurrence of the late 1960's was "the birth of La Raza Unida (meaning the uniting of the race). The Raza movement was actually an unanticipated outgrowth of an attempt on the part of the federal government to conduct an 'off-campus' White House conference in El Paso, Texas, in October 1967. Although the government's Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs acted to bring various organizations together for the meeting, a number of Mexican Americans felt that the speaker line-up was stacked in favor of a sellout to the established order. Paralleling the officially sanctioned conference was a rump session convened by those who felt the established order of things constituted the very crux of their problems. This rump session called for an end to the negation of Mexican Spanish culture by the Anglo-Saxon social structure that controls the Southwest's basic institutions. Sounding the note of unity and solidarity, the session committed

itself to organization of the barios for educational, economic, and political purposes - for developing pride in Mexican culture and for acquiring means to attain the economic and political independence that would assure Mexican Americans an effective voice in state and national affairs . . . . La Raza [subsequently] lent its support to [another new organization,] the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO). . . . MAYO [has attempted in Texas] to change the traditional policy of not allowing Spanish to be spoken on school grounds. Though this issue is a rallying point, the organization has other concerns, among them the lack of courses dealing with Spanish history and culture, and the Anglo community's built-in assumption that Mexican Americans are capable of doing only menial jobs. . . . In the spring of 1968 the organization helped lead a student revolt at Burbank High School in San Antonio - a revolt which culminated in curriculum changes designed to aid Mexican Americans in college preparation." (Ref. 3, pp. 325-326) "The growth of militancy among young Mexican Americans has been rapid. A 'Brown Power' movement, drawing heavily from its predecessor Black Power, has spread across the Southwest. [In 1968] several hundred Mexican-American students staged walkouts at Los Angeles high schools. Among their demands: bilingual instruction, Mexican-American teachers, more Mexican history and culture, and Mexican food in the cafeterias. [In 1969] Mexican-American students staged protests in Denver, Colorado and in Del Rio, Texas." (Ref. 2, p. 20)

Education. "Overt segregation of Mexican children in the public schools has been eliminated to all intents and purposes. Federal court cases in California, Arizona, and Texas - both those that came to trial and those which did not - have made it abundantly clear that American children of Mexican descent cannot be segregated in the public schools. Even where school authorities have sought to use pseudo-pedagogical reasons for separating 'Anglos' from 'Latins' the courts have either condemned the practices or have made it patent that the proof of the pudding would be in the eating, thus discouraging the use of subterfuges to cover up 'racial' segregation. This breakthrough in school cases has served as precedent for the attack on segregation in other public services with widespread success. In all areas there still remain many fronts on which the civil liberties battle will have to be fought. Recalcitrant communities (rather, recalcitrant governing boards) will seek 'legal' ways to perpetuate segregation in education the devices will include 'neighborhood schools,' 'free choice' in the selection of a school, 'ability grouping,' 'special' provision for migrant children, and the like. Most of these subterfuges will the subject not of court action, but of political action, as has been demonstrated already in a number of communities." (Ref. 1, pp. 146-147) "Most [Mexican Americans] are confronted with a school system which operates in only one language: English. From the first day of school they fall behind their Anglo (English-speaking) classmates. Until recently most schools operated under the theory that students would learn English quickly if all their courses were taught in English. Mexican Americans were frequently punished for speaking Spanish at school - sometimes even on the playground. The plan did not work. In one Los Angeles high school with a predominantly Mexican-American enrollment, the dropout rate was 57%. In The Education and Training of Racial Minorities, Lamar B. Jones writes: 'The greatest problem in the Mexican American community is education, not racial discrimination. Some high school students in Texas and California had these comments on their schooling: 'It's always my parents telling me to be proud I'm Mexican, and the school telling me to be American. . . .' 'You hear enough of that and you are bound to think there is something second-class about your language and about you. You begin to reject the fact that you are Mexican; you may change your name to Mike or Joe. You cherish the dream of going away somewhere, where they won't know that you're Mexican.' 'From the time we first begin attending school we hear about how great and wonderful our United States is, about our democratic heritage, but little about our splendid Mexican heritage and culture.' Now many schools are trying new approaches to the language problem. One system, emphasizing bilingualism, uses a part-English, part-Spanish program. Anglo-American and Mexican American students take such courses as arithmetic and social studies in

spanish. One region with a successful bilingual program is the United Consolidated Independent School District north of Laredo, Texas. Half of the teaching is done in English, half in Spanish – a proportion that nearly matches the district enrollment. Begun [in 1964] at the first grade level, the program [extended in 1969] through the fifth grade with a new class to be added each year. School Superintendent Harold C. Brantley [stated] that 'the quality of education has been strengthened' for all students – Anglos and Mexican Americans. Said Brantley: 'We're not interested in teaching a language. We're using the language to get across information in all subjects. A lot of people believed that when an Anglo child was placed in a classroom with a majority of Mexican Americans, the class level went down. But achievement tests show that Anglo children performed better than before we started the program. The bilingual movement is catching on.' In addition to bilingualism, many schools have added courses on Mexican history and culture. In these classes students learn that it is the Anglo, not the Mexican, who is the newcomer to the Southwest." (Ref. 2, pp. 10-11)

"That Mexican Americans are making themselves felt is signified by the presidential establishment, in 1967, of a federal office for Mexican-American affairs [the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American affairs]. This [was intended] to increase the lines of communication to the national government, and, combined with the increasing political activity of Mexican Americans, [was expected to] have some broad effect on improving the position of this group in the national image and in the access to opportunity. (Ref. 1, p. 147) "President [Richard M.] Nixon [in 1969] ordered the formation of a White House Conference on Mexican-American Affairs. Some Mexican Americans praised the move, but others claimed that previous conferences had failed to produce any results and that more practical efforts were needed. These people were more enthusiastic about the President's efforts to appoint qualified Mexican Americans to important jobs in his administration. In either case, the silent minority [was not] silent any longer. As one 'Brown Power' leader said: 'The Mexican American has just discovered how the democratic process works, after years of watching on the sidelines.' And a California lawyer added: 'The Mexican Americans are out for a better economic life. . . . We want to be part of the scene.'" (Ref. 2, p. 20)

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THE NAVAHO

"The image of the typical Navaho [or "Navajo"] is probably more familiar than that of any other Indian seen outside picture books: A man with long hair knotted behind his head and a high-crowned felt hat or a colored cloth across his forehead. Next to him is his wife in voluminous skirts and velveteen blouse. Both are bedecked with silver jewelry, including bracelets set with turquoise [and] concha belts." (Ref. 1, p. 61)

"Navaho Country encompasses an area of nearly 24,000 square miles and extends into three States — Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. In addition, a few Navahos live in a small area of southwestern Colorado, although this area is not considered to be part of Navaho Country. All Navahos do not live on reservation lands; many reside on public domain allotments, on railroad land, or on the public domain itself, outside the boundaries of the reservation. Three small detached Navaho communities exist at Ramah (50 miles southeast of Gallup), at Canoncito (40 miles west of Albuquerque), and at Alamo (80 miles southwest of Albuquerque). The last two are under the jurisdiction of the United Pueblos Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Albuquerque. Less than a thousand Navahos live in these three areas.

"The principal communities are the six headquarters locations for the administrative offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the Navaho Tribe. These are at Window Rock, Chinle, Fort Defiance, and Tuba City in Arizona, and Crownpoint and Shiprock in New Mexico. Climate and productivity are dictated largely by elevation and rainfall, vegetative cover varying sharply from sparse shrubs at the lower elevations to the forests of the mountainous regions. Generally speaking, the reservation area is a land of high plateaus, deep canyons, and low-lying plains, traversed by a range of mountains along the Arizona-New Mexico State line. Although rainfall in the high altitudes may be as much as 27 inches a year, the area involved is relatively small, and reservation climate can best be described as arid or semiarid.

"[History:] Navaho legends tell that 'The People' or 'Dine' as the Navahos call themselves emerged from underground in the Southwest. However, it is the generally held belief of anthropologists that the Navahos came across the Bering Strait in early times, though perhaps somewhat later than the other tribes which inhabited the Southwest, and settled in an area along the Colorado-New Mexico boundary, between the Chama and upper San Juan Rivers. Later they spread South and West into what now is known as Navaho Country. By the early 1600's they were an aggressive and powerful tribe. Sometime during the 1600's they acquired horses and sheep from the Spaniards, as well as a knowledge of working with metal and wool. The Navahos are famous for their adaptability, and in those early centuries they learned much of the culture that has made them the people they are today." (Ref. 2, pp. 1-2)

"When the Spaniards came into the country . . . [the Navahos] were a raiding, warring tribe. . . . The Spanish settlers retaliated by raiding the Navahos, and so the war went on for two hundred years. . . . When the Mexicans raided the Navahos they captured women and children to be held as slaves, and they encouraged other Indians to capture them for sale in the markets. Every Spanish family of any consequence possessed such slaves. . . . The Navahos retaliated by taking Spanish and Indian captives, . . . more than holding their own and increasing in numbers, notwithstanding their losses, until 1849, when their territory was taken over by the United States." (Ref. 4, p. 210) "There were some Navahos, now, who spent all their time in fighting. . . . These fighters . . . gathered around the war leaders. . . . Most famous of these was the tall, handsome Manuelito, son-in-law of the dead Narbona [leader of the eastern Navahos who had talked peace with white men and was tragically killed during a meeting]." (Ref. 3, pp. 132, 139)

"During the Civil War, the Navahos took advantage of the fact that the attention of the United States government was fixed on other matters, and they began harassing the white man again. Then, in 1863, Colonel Kit Carson, as Indian Agent for the District of New Mexico, led an army to Canyon de Chelly and made prisoner between 9,000 and 15,000 Navahos. The captives were marched three hundred miles eastward to a prison camp at Fort Sumner, a march that is known today to all Navahos as 'The Long Walk.'" (Ref. 1, p. 65) In 1868, recognizing the Fort Sumner experiment as a failure and acceding to Navaho entreaties, the U.S. Government concluded a treaty with the tribe and they were settled on a 3.5-million-acre reservation. Through a series of Executive orders and acts of Congress, extending from 1878-1934, the reservation area was increased to approximately 15 million acres." (Ref. 2, p. 2)

"Oil was discovered on the Navaho Reservation in 1923. This made it important for the Navahos to set up a representative council that would speak for the tribe as a whole in regard to earnings from mineral rights. This body was slow in forming, but in 1937 the present Navaho Tribal Council, providing for seventy-four representatives distributed according to population, was organized." (Ref. 1, p. 74)

At the beginning of World War II, "the Navaho Council passed a resolution pledging its loyalty and patriotism [to the United States]. . . . Enlisted Navahos were . . . in the Forty-Fifth Division which invaded Italy, and in the Marine Corps, which made a heroic record in the South Pacific. Early in the war, the Marines began recruiting Navahos for . . . 'code talking' in the Signal Corps. . . . Navahos were to speak to each other, by radio or telephone, giving military messages straight across enemy lines in their own language . . .[which was] so different from . . . European languages that no one could work out their meaning without years of study. . . . There were 3,400 Navahos in the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps. . . . Awards came flooding in to the reservation: the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Purple Heart. Money came flooding in, too. This was a new thing for many families. . . . Life for the Navahos could never be the same again." (Ref. 3, pp. 253-58)

"[Navaho Tribal Culture:] The Navaho home is called a hogan, a term about as well known as tepee. . . . [Hogans] now seen in the Navaho country are hexagonal, made of logs laid up like a log cabin, except that the sides draw inward toward the smoke hole. . . . Since most of human life pivots around the family fire, the hogan becomes the symbol of their culture. In fact, it is the only building of consequence; here the family lives, the sick are cared for, ceremonies are performed, etc. . . . The Navaho . . . build no temples, no houses of worship. Nor do they gather into villages as do most Indians. . . . Yet they maintain a high degree of culture solidarity, a fair number of ritualistic ceremonies, and a satisfactory tribal government." (Ref. 4, pp. 206-09)

"Navaho health and religion are closely associated. The Navaho views health as a balance between himself and his total environment. He always must be in harmony with human and animal life, with the natural and the supernatural. Illness results when this harmonious state is disrupted by a transgression of one or another taboo. . . . Healing or restoration of balance can be attained only through rituals conducted by the medicine man, who is both the religious leader and the medical practitioner. Most Navahos today use the medicine man and the white man's health facilities." (Ref. 5, p. 72) "Central feature [of Navaho religion] is the sand painting, . . . the chief purpose of . . .[which] is to cure the sick or disturbed. The designs represent the concrete embodiment of sacred personifications and concepts, and have been likened in function to the stained-glass windows of medieval church art. Although some are only about a foot or two in diameter, others are more than twenty feet across and can be made only in specially constructed hogans. Fifteen men will work most of a day to produce only one of these — only to have it ceremonially obliterated in less than half an hour. The dry paintings

. . . are actually not made with sand but with pollen, crushed flowers, charcoal, pulverized minerals, and meal. . . . The designs are integrated with an elaborate system of chants and rituals, and . . . there are more than five hundred paintings, all preserved by memory alone [by the medicine man] . . . . The evening performances of the last day of a big chant are especially theatrical, involving . . . young men dancing with torches or with standing arcs ornamented with eagle plumes." (Ref. 1, pp. 66-67)

"Many Navaho adults speak only a few words of English and most live several miles from their nearest neighbors in hogans — windowless mud and log huts with earth floors and no modern conveniences. Here, babies are still carried on their mother's backs in primitive cradleboard carriers. Water for domestic use is hauled in barrels from wells operated by windmills. Few household furnishings are used. The husband goes to live with the family of his wife, where the couple set up housekeeping in a separate hogan near the wife's mother. The place of women in the tribe is an important one. She not only has property rights, but usually has the final 'say' in family and community affairs." (Ref. 2, p. 4)

"Strange as it may seem, the Navahos do not use their own blankets. At first they wove mainly wearing apparel, and probably did not produce blankets until about 1780. . . . The blankets enabled the Indians to build up credit at the trading post, and soon they stopped weaving anything for their own use except saddle blankets. . . . They took, instead, to buying Pendleton blankets made in Oregon, and still do. . . .The weaving [of Navaho blankets] is done by the women, and a weaver who can produce five Navaho rugs a year is doing well. . . . Another craft for which the Navahos are known is the making of jewelry, especially of silver. The Navahos first worked silver about 1853 to 1858 but made little jewelry until they were interned in Fort Sumner in 1863. . . . The first Navaho to set silver with turquoise may have been Atsidi Chon, who set up a silver-working shop among the Zunis in the 1870's. . . . Navaho jewelry designs possess no symbolism; they serve simply to beautify the silver. . . . The 'Squash blossoms,' made by adding three to five petal-like pieces to hollow silver beads . . . probably did not come into favor among the Navahos until after 1880. The well-known oval 'conchas' for belts were not made extensively until after the 1920's. These four- to six-inch disks are said to be based on a design borrowed from the Plains Indians. . . . Unlike rug-weaving, silversmithing is done mostly by the men and is in the hands of a relatively small number of craftsman." (Ref. 1, pp. 72-74)

"[Present Problems:] The Navaho represents the largest Indian tribe in the United States, with an estimated population of more than 84,000 in 1962 (on and adjacent to the reservation). An undetermined number of Navaho people have left the reservation and are making a successful living in non-Indian communities. . . .

"The Navaho are undergoing rapid cultural change. Diversification of their economy, formal schooling, western dress, pressures for acculturation, and a multitude of allied forces are working toward individualization. In his traditional society, the Navaho functioned as a member of a group; in the western European society into which he is being integrated, he is under pressure to function as an individual. He often pays rent on his house and lives by wages, instead of the agricultural returns from his land or a combination of both. Returns from agriculture (largely the raising of livestock, primarily sheep) now are more commensurate with the non-Indian population of the United States. Less than 10 percent of present income is derived from agriculture, and fewer of the young and middle-aged people are content with this profession. Many Navaho people are employed by oil and gas, mining, and railroad companies, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Navaho Tribe, public schools, and various mission groups on the reservation.

"Prior to a hundred years ago, the Navaho Tribe did not exist as a political entity. There were only local bands led by headmen who enjoyed varying amounts of power, determined by their persuasive ability. . . . In 1927, John Hunter, Superintendent of the Leupp Agency, began the development of local community organizations which came to be known as chapters. This movement spread rapidly, and today there are 96 recognized chapters located throughout Navaholand. It began only a few years after the establishment of the first Navaho Tribal Council, but for many years the chapters were more important as aspects of Navaho political life than the artificially created council [of the 1920's]. . . .

"A number of programs are maintained for the Navaho by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Navaho Tribe, and the U.S. Public Health Service. A very effective health program is administered by the last. Among programs providing food, clothing, and other subsistence items, by far the most extensive is that of public assistance under the Social Security Act (old age assistance, aid to the blind and to families with dependent children, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled). General assistance under the Bureau's welfare program is made available to needy families who do not meet eligibility requirements for public assistance.

"Utilizing oil revenues and income from its enterprises, the Navaho Tribe also maintains a welfare program which meets many needs. The Tribal Council distributes surplus food commodities supplied by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and provides clothing, eyeglasses, hearing aids, and emergency care for all children in school, as well as layettes, dental work, grants for emergency relief (including burnouts), and burial expenses for needy Navahos. . . . Wherever practicable, Navaho children attend public schools, and this practice is increasing rapidly. In addition, the Bureau maintains about 80 schools on the reservation, and 10 others located adjacent thereto. Both the Bureau and the tribe are conducting constructive resource development and employment assistance programs on the reservation." (Ref. 2, pp. 4-7)

"The goal of the new [Navaho] leaders is to meld life on the reservation with the world around it, taking help from any quarter but direction from none. . . . Unlike most of the country's Indian tribes, the Navaho has no tribal constitution. This lack has insured a strong hand for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. [But, despite the bureau's occasional conflicts with tribal leaders and attorneys, the bureau remains generally popular with individual Navahos. . . . Congress allocates $45 million to $50 million each year for services to personnel connected with Navaho land. In addition, oil and other rights bring another $20 million annually directly to the tribe. . . . [The tribal] approach to spending has resulted in a $10 million scholarship fund, with the interest going to send Navaho students to college. Despite the tribe's postwar appreciation for education, however, some 2,000 to 3,000 Navaho children have still not been entered in elementary or high school." (Ref. 6) "Even with the generous assistance that many have attempted to give the Navahos, it has not been easy for them to develop all the leaders they need in a day of rapid evolution in science, education and government. . . . Even when a young Indian graduates from high school and decides to go to college, he faces a very difficult adjustment. He is liable to find himself enough of a social oddity to want to give up fairly soon and 'go back to the blanket.' The transition from a wilderness existence to full participation in a civilized economy is far more difficult than most persons imagine. . . . Yet the Navahos with their conspicuous cultural vitality are, as Oliver La Farge [anthropologist and author who framed an alphabet for writing the Navaho language] has phrased it, the most promising Indians. . . . Living on a thin margin of subsistence, they nevertheless have thrived and — equally surprising — they have evolved many aspects of their distinctive culture almost while we have been watching them." (Ref. 1, pp. 74-75)

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HIPPIES

"The word 'hip' translates roughly as 'wise' or 'tuned-in.' A hippie is somebody who 'knows' what's really happening, and who adjusts or grooves with it. Hippies despise phoniness; they want to be open, honest, loving and free. They reject the plastic pretense of 20th-century America, preferring to go back to the 'natural' life, like Adam and Eve. They reject any kinship with the Beat Generation on the ground that 'those cats were negative, but our thing is positive.' They also reject politics, which is 'just another game.' They don't like money, either, or any kind of aggressiveness." (Ref. 1)

Hippies can be found in many parts of the world. The great centers of hippie population have been, however, the East Village in New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. "In 1965 Berkeley [(the University of California at Berkeley)] was the axis of what was just beginning to be called the 'New Left.' Its leaders were radical, but they were also deeply committed to the society they wanted to change. A prestigious faculty committee said the Berkeley activists were the vanguard of 'a moral revolution among the young,' and many professors approved. Now . . . there is not much doubt that Berkeley has gone through a revolution of some kind, but the end result is not exactly what the original leaders had in mind. Many one-time activists have forsaken politics entirely and turned to drugs. Others have even forsaken Berkeley. During 1966, the hot center of revolutionary action on the Coast began moving across the bay to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district. . . . [The 'Hashbury's] denizens . . . [were] not called radicals or beatniks, but 'hippies' — and perhaps as many as half . . . [were] refugees from Berkeley and the old North Beach scene, the cradle and the casket of the so-called Beat Generation. The other half of the hippie population . . . [was] too young to identify with Jack Kerouac, [the late leader of the Beat Generation,] or even with Mario Savio [a leader of the Berkeley revolution]." (Ref. 1) "The saddest of the followers in the camp of the hippies [were] . . . the 'teeny-boppers.' In age, the teeny-bopper [ranged] from 12 to 15. He or she [differed] from the hippie only in degree. The hippie [felt] himself at odds with his society — and [withdrew]. The teeny-bopper [couldn't] get along with his or her parents — and [rebelled]. Transition from teeny-bopper to hippie — unless there [was] a change of heart — [was] just a matter of time." (Ref. 2)

"Beyond an occasional Happening in the park, the Haight-Ashbury scene [was] almost devoid of anything 'to do' — at least by conventional standards. An at-home entertainment [was] nude parties at which celebrants [painted] designs on each other. There [were] no hippie bars, for instance, and only one restaurant above the level of a diner or a lunch counter. This is a reflection of the drug culture, which has no use for booze and regards food as a necessity to be acquired at the least possible expense. A 'family' of hippies will work for hours over an exotic stew or curry in a communal kitchen, but the idea of paying $3 for a meal in a restaurant is out of the question. . . . . Most of the local action [anywhere in hippiedom] is beyond the reach of anyone without access to drugs." (Ref. 1)

"The largest single employer of hippies [was at first] the U.S. Post Office, and the sight of a bearded mailman with a peace button on the lapel of his uniform [became] a common one in San Francisco. Another source of income [was] 'dealing' or selling drugs, usually marijuana, LSD and 'speed' (methedrine), since hippies generally leave heroin alone. A dope dealer's income frequently [supported] a whole group of people. Some hippies also [depended] on a subsidy from home. At the same time, many [had] jobs in the arts — as poster designers, actors, dancers and rock musicians." (Ref. 3)

"Most hippies [took] the question of survival for granted, but it [became] increasingly obvious as the neighborhood [filled] with penniless heads, that there [was] simply

not enough food and lodging to go around. A partial solution [was sought] . . . from a group called the 'Diggers,' who have been called the 'worker-priests' of the hippy movement and the 'invisible government' of the Hashbury. The Diggers . . . set up free lodging centers, free soup kitchens and free clothing distribution centers. They [combed] the neighborhood soliciting donations of everything from money to stale bread to camping equipment. Diggers' signs [were] posted in local stores, asking for donations of hammers, saws, shovels, shoes and anything else that vagrant hippies might use to make themselves at least partially self-supporting. The name and spirit derive from small groups of 17th-century English rural revolutionaries, called both Diggers and True Levelers, who had a number of Socialist ideas. Money should be abolished, communal farms could support all those willing to work them, and individual ownership of land would be outlawed. The Diggers were severely harassed and the movement eventually caved in under the weight of public opprobrium." (Ref. 1)

"By October 1967, the once gentle Haight-Ashbury scene had turned into an overcrowded Miami Beach for the younger generation — a garish setting of crumbling Victorian architecture spattered with psychedelic paint and populated by runaways, speed freaks and junkies. When things became really unbearable, word went out from . . . the Diggers: 'The Haight is not where it's at — it's in your head and hands. Gather into tribes; take it anywhere. Disperse.' . . . [By the summer of 1969,] the graduates of the Haight and New York's East Village . . . [had] scattered across the country — to New Mexico's mesas and mountains, to lush valleys in Oregon, to Big Sur country in California, to remote corners of Arizona and Maine, to city enclaves across the urban belt 'where the vibrations are good.' For the psychedelic generation, 1969 . . . [became] the year of the commune.

"Inspired by LSD visions, repelled by the violence that fills the newspapers and their lives — repelled, most of all, by the stale 'straight' life in the glutted cities — roughly 10,000 hippies have settled on more than 500 communes across the country. They live in crash pads, tepees, geodesic domes and $100,000 converted guest ranches. They range from the deeply religious youngsters of Lorien commune (named after the region of the elves in J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings) to the hostile, gun-carrying crazies of the Reality Construction Company near Taos, New Mexico. They build adobe pueblos out of mud and straw, grow acres of corn and beans (and some marijuana), experiment with yoga and peyote and grope toward a new way of life — one that is close to nature. . . .

"It is not that hippies have anything against technology. On the contrary, most of them agree with poet Gary Snyder, who contends that technology will ultimately free man from all kinds of work and leave him free to explore art and 'states of mind.' . . . But the hippies insist that today's technology is operating in a spiritual vacuum. They say that 'Prometheus is reaching for the stars with a hollow grin on his face.' And they share hippie writer Peter Berg's contempt for the technologically bound American way of life. 'Middle-class living rooms are funeral parlors, and only undertakers will stay in them,' says Berg. 'The U.S. standard of living is a bourgeois baby blanket for executives who scream in their sleep. Industrialization means smog and insanity. Our fight is with job-wardens and consumer-keepers of a permissive loony bin who would kill us through dumb work, insane wars and a dull money morality.' . . .

"The quality of communal life varies from place to place. . . . Urban groups tend to be oddly fanatical: the members of Boston's Fort Hill Communal Settlement believe their leader, Mel Lyman, to be the spirit of the second coming of Christ; Ann Arbor's vigorous Transiove-Energies-White Panthers are foul-mouthed sexual and political radicals who claim that what the 'weird-o' United States needs is free dope and copulation in the streets. Members of the rural communities, on the other hand, are generally fanatical about only one thing — the land. They take their meals together in a large

communal house, or dome, and sleep in private rooms or shacks. In both urban and rural communes, the children are raised by all the members. . . . In both urban and rural communes, too, drugs (mainly marijuana, LSD and peyote) are used whenever they are available. And at least one commune, a group that calls itself Hog Farm, takes its trips literally — in psychedelic buses that meander around the country. . . . In concept, most commune families have rejected the idea of private property and share everything — not just lovers but drugs, books, tools and blankets. . . .

"Like every revolution, this one, too, has its share of problems. A 17-year-old girl . . . drowned while allegedly on an LSD trip at Timothy Leary's communal ranch in Riverside County, California, . . . [causing legal problems for Leary, the guru of the drug movement. Various towns have enacted ordinances against several aspects of communal living.] And ministers condemn the communes as a 'ruinous cancer snatching loved ones from the very sanctity of the home." (Ref. 3)

In August 1969, a long-haired army of 400,000 youths descended on White Lake, New York, a tiny farming community, for the "Woodstock Music and Art Fair, An Aquarian Exposition," They came many of them carrying marijuana and other drugs from as far away as Michigan and California, to listen to 24 rock groups, camp in tents and geodesic domes, and generally do their own things, over 1,000 acres of pasture leased by the promoters from a local farmer. While the vast majority of participants were not hippies, they displayed their adherence to the hippie movement. "Psychoanalyst Rollo May describes . . . [the Woodstock Festival] as 'a symptomatic event of our time that showed the tremendous hunger, need and yearning for community on the part of youth.' He compares its friendly spirit favorably with the alcoholic mischief ever present at a Shriners' convention but wonders how long the era of good feeling will last. . . . It is beyond argument that the generation attuned to rock, pot and sex will drastically change the world it grew up in. The question is: How and to what purpose? Columbia Sociologist Amitai Etzioni applauds the idealism of the young but argues that 'they need more time and energy for reflection' as well as more opportunities for authentic service. Ultimately, the great danger of the counter-culture [of which the hippies are the ultimate expression] is its self-proclaimed flight from reason, its exaltation of self over society, its Dionysian anarchism!" (Ref. 4)

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THE BLACK MUSLIMS

"The historical conditions of the Negro American in many respects have not been conducive to developing a separate nationalism — feelings of group pride and identification with a cultural heritage. Negroes in the United States were largely cut off from their African cultural heritage, and much of their unique culture was born of slavery. They often accepted the white belief in Negro inferiority and came to reject 'Negroness.' However, there has been a significant strain of nationalism in Negro American thought. Some Negro nationalists were secessionists, or political nationalists, who advocated the colonization of Africa or the West Indies by Negro Americans. Others were cultural nationalists, who extolled the accomplishments of Negroes, past and present, real and imaginary, and considered the excellence of Negro culture as a reason for full Negro integration into the mainstream of American society. Still others advocated a separate and parallel Negro society within the larger American society." (Ref. 1, p. 38) "The first Negro nationalist movement with widespread mass support was the 'Back-to-Africa' movement led by Marcus Garvey after World War I. . . . As popular as Garvey's movement was for a time, not a single Negro American emigrated to Africa as the direct result of his efforts. In an overzealous attempt to finance a fleet of steamships to carry Negroes to Africa, Garvey ran afoul of federal law, was convicted of using the mails to defraud, and was sent to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta. He continued to direct his movement from prison, but without his presence it declined. A few Garveyites are still to be found in Northern cities, but most Negro nationalists long ago turned to other movements. Small black nationalist organizations that have attracted ex-Garveyites and like-minded individuals have been numerous since the Back-to-Africa movement. Most have gained only a small following, but one, after nearly two and a half decades of near oblivion, burgeoned into a mass movement perhaps comparable to the Garvey movement. This is the Nation of Islam, commonly known . . . as the Black Muslims." (Ref. 1, pp. 41-42)

"By far the largest and best known of the black nationalist organizations [today] is that headed by Elijah Muhammad and popularly known as The Black Muslim Movement. Muhammad claims 250,000 followers in his 'Nation of Islam,' but responsible elements place the number of dues-paying, card-carrying Muslims at no more than 100,000. Headquarters for the movement are Chicago, and there are seventy to eighty 'mosques' or 'temples' scattered across the United States. Primary strength and membership is in the black ghettoes of the industrial cities of the North, but there are mosques as far south as Atlanta, Birmingham, and Miami; and as far west as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. . . . The Black Muslims are admantly against integration, and against any Negroes who advocate it. They do not believe in nonviolent resistance, and they are required to retaliate in kind against any attacks made upon them, their families, or any members of their organization. Their motto is 'Never be the aggressor. Never look for trouble; but if any man molests you, may Allah bless you!' The Muslims appear prosperous. They own innumerable business enterprises and considerable real estate all over the country, and they 'buy black' whenever possible. They maintain schools in Chicago and Detroit. The Muslim program calls for 'full and complete freedom,' 'equal justice under the law, 'equality of opportunity,' and 'a separate state or territory.' They have frequently called for 'a united front of black men' under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, but cooperation with other protest groups [has been] infrequent." (Ref. 2, pp. 477-478)

"The founder of the Black Muslims (who, incidentally, are not recognized by the orthodox Moslem community in the United States) was W.D. Fard, a mysterious peddler, perhaps an Arab, who appeared in Detroit in the early 1930's. As he went from house to house, he told Negroes of their homeland across the sea and proclaimed himself a prophet who had come to awaken the Black Nation to its possibilities in a world temporarily dominated by whites. He exhorted Negroes to stop imitating the evil ways of whites, to renounce the white man's religion, and to worship Allah, the one true God."

(Ref. 1, pp. 42-43) It has been claimed that Fard was really "Wali Farad . . . an orthodox Moslem born in Mecca around 1877. The Black Muslims believe him to have been an incarnation of Allah, or God, who came to America to rescue them (and all black men) from bondage to the 'blue-eyed devils,' or persons of the white race. 'Almost all of [Fard's] initial followers were illiterate or semiliterate Negro migrants from the South. They had come North during the boom times of the First World War, and by the 1930's were unemployed and destitute, as were many other Americans. As Negroes they were victims of the prevailing practices in employment and housing. They were 'last hired and first fired,' and they were confined to the shacks and tenements of their ghetto. [Fard] taught that the unfavorable condition of Negroes in America resulted from their dependence upon and fear of the white man, who kept them in economic and psychological bondage. Their only escape lay in withdrawing from the white man's society and establishing a 'Black Nation' of their own." (Ref. 2, pp. 477-478)

"As mysteriously as he appeared, Fard disappeared in 1934, leaving some 8,000 followers." (Ref. 1, p. 43) "The man who succeeded him in 1934, and in thirty years built the Muslim 'nation' to its present extent, was Elijah Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in the town of Sandersville, Georgia." (Ref. 2, p. 478) After Fard's death, "Muhammad . . . assumed leadership and moved the group's headquarters from Detroit to Chicago. Under Elijah, membership at first declined, and the survival of the sect seemed in doubt when many of its adherents were imprisoned during World War II for refusal to serve in the armed forces. However, Elijah's following increased slowly after the war, and by the late 1950's the movement was flourishing. In 1959 a rash of newspaper and magazine accounts of the Muslims appeared, and this publicity further stimulated Muslim growth. One estimate, probably exaggerated, is that membership doubled within six months. By 1961 there were at least fifty Muslin temples and missions from New England to California and Florida, and membership was estimated at 100,000. [Subsequently] observers [reported] that Muslim growth in the Chicago Southside [continued] to be rapid and that for each Muslim in good standing there [were] perhaps two or three others sympathetic to the movement. However, no well-based estimate of current membership [was] available." (Ref. 1, p. 43)

"Elijah Muhammad developed Fard's philosophy to a categorical rejection of integration as a workable relationship between blacks and whites, and to a denunciation of Christianity as 'the white man's slave-making' strategy for deceiving and subduing Negroes and other nonwhites. Muslims [were] taught to avoid contact with whites whenever possible; and to require 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' in case of white aggression. They [were] also taught thrift, honesty, cleanliness, and hard work. They [believed] themselves to be the 'Original Man' — first to bring civilization to earth, and Allah's (God's) choice to survive the Armageddon — the final and conclusive struggle between the white and nonwhite races of the earth." (Ref. 2, p. 478) "Accepting the general tenets of the religion of Islam, the Black Muslims, under the leadership of Elijah Poole, who renamed himself Elijah Muhammad, renounced [any] faith in the ultimate solution of the race problem in the United States, rejected all names that might imply a connection with white America, and sought complete separation from the white community." (Ref. 3, pp. 560-561) "In welcoming all Negroes, including social outcasts and ex-convicts, Elijah Muhammad emphasized the common bond that all Negroes shared against what he called 'the white devil' and the hopelessness of any effort at racial integration. Members of the Nation paid strict attention to dress and dietary laws and pressed their case by standing on street corners in most Northern cities and selling such publications as Muhammad Speaks. They changed their names that indicated their relationship to the white man to such designations as Brother Leonard X and Minister Malcolm X." (Ref. 3, pp. 620-621) For a time their "ablest and most eloquent spokesman was Malcolm X, who was read out of the Black Muslims when he described the assassination of President [John F.] Kennedy as 'chickens coming home

to roost' and who was himself assassinated early in 1965 at a New York mass meeting of his newly formed group that competed with the Black Muslims." (Ref. 3, p. 561) Subsequently "the best known of all [Black Muslim converts] was the world heavyweight [boxing] champion, Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Clay." (Ref. 3, p. 621)

"The Nation of Islam, bitter in its denunciation of American racism, [is] a voice of disgust and despair. It [is] as much a political and social movement as it [is] a religious organization." (Ref. 3, p. 561) "The Muslims are extreme nationalists. To them, 'so-called Negroes' are in all ways superior to whites. According to the Muslim mythology of racial origins, all men originally were black. But within each black man there were two elements – the black, which contained all virtues and strengths of man, and the white, which contained all evils and weaknesses. A scientist separated the white from the black and thus created the white race. These 'blue-eyed devils' were given 6,000 years by Allah to rule the earth, plus a 70-year grace period during which the Black Nation is to be awakened. The period of grace is to expire in '1984.'

"Because of their belief in black superiority, Muslims oppose interracial social relations and marriage, much as do proponents of white supremacy. Integration of 'so-called Negroes' with whites they consider degrading. The Muslim goal is complete separation of blacks from whites, first socially, then economically, and finally politically. Immediate severing of all social relations with whites is enjoined, and good Muslims do not seek the friendship even of Christian Negroes. As a step toward a separate economy, the Muslim organization has founded business enterprises, mainly retail and service establishments, that are patronized by all good Muslims regardless of price, quality of merchandise, or credit terms offered by white competitors.

"Political and geographical separation is to be attained by setting aside a larger area of the United States for the exclusive use of blacks. As an alternative, Elijah has hinted that blacks might settle for emigration to Africa, although at another time he said that America rightfully belongs to the blacks and that the whites should go back to Europe. The goal of political independence is ill-defined, or at least public statements by Muslim leaders have been vague and somewhat inconsistent.

"The early Muslims were chiefly poorly educated Negroes from the rural South. Most adherents still are recruited from the economically depressed segments of the Negro population, but more now have urban backgrounds. A small but increasing number of college students and other middle-class Negroes have joined the movement. Although well-educated Negroes cannot accept the more naive elements in the ideology and mythology, Muslim sympathizers appear to be fairly numerous among Negro college students in Northern universities. Muslim members typically are young, an estimated 80 percent being between the ages of 17 and 35. Men outnumber women, the reverse of the situation in Christian churches. Many adherents are former criminals, prostitutes, and narcotic addicts, and all remain reformed, as long as they remain in the movement. The apparent success of the Muslims at rehabilitating such deviates has not been carefully investigated, but it may be greater than the success of agencies and organizations that have rehabilitation as a primary purpose.

"The appeal of the Muslims to the lower-class Negro is not hard to understand. Participation in the movement gives him a feeling of self-respect, of superiority, of identification with a cause. Instead of waiting decades to attain equality with the white man, he can be superior now. However, the reasons for the accelerated growth of the movement in recent years are not so readily apparent. Why were not urban lower-class Negroes so susceptible to the Muslim appeal ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago? In the 1940's and late 1950's, as in the 1920's when the Garvey movement flourished, the Northern cities turned out to be a disappointing Promised Land to many Negro migrants from the South. During World War II and the Korean conflict, jobs were numerous and

pay was good in Northern industry, and Negroes flocked northward by the thousands. By the late 1950's, however, an economic recession and the trend toward the elimination of unskilled work by mechanization left a large percentage of poorly educated Negroes from the South unemployed.

"The decade of the 1950's was, to be sure, a period of numerous court decisions and pronouncements favoring the Negro. Mass media were filled with reports of agitation and debate in the field of civil rights. Increased support of Negro equality by the courts, by high officials in the federal administration, by prominent white organizations, and by upper- and middle-class Negroes strengthened and gave legal sanction to the view that Negroes deserved a better lot in American society. And yet the objective lot of lower-class Negroes changed little, and in some cases deteriorated. They faced the same discrimination, the same rejection by whites and by upper- and middle-class Negroes, the same difficulty in getting and keeping jobs. Perhaps many lower-class Negroes in the ghettos of the North realized that even the most vigorous efforts — official or nonofficial — toward integration could help them little in the near future. On the other hand, the psychological rewards of being a Muslim were immediate, and even the tangible gains that came from Muslim asceticism and self-improvement were more perceptible than the benefits that accrued to them through efforts of integrationism.

"Such nationalistic movements as Garveyism and the Muslims have thrived mainly in cities outside the South, since disillusionment with integrationist goals [has been] most prevalent where there [was] the greatest discrepancy between practice and generally accepted ideas of racial equality. In the South, where racial equality [has been] neither the general ideal nor the practice, Negroes had little reason to be disillusioned with the integrationist approach, which until quite recently had not been tried. How prominent Negro nationalism will be in the future depends largely upon how successful integrationists are in satisfying the aspirations of all classes of Negroes. Nationalism probably will remain an important influence on integrationist leaders and organizations and on their relations with the white leadership. Faced with competition from the Muslims, the integrationists have been forced to be more militant and bold in order to [attemp to] win support from the urban Negro masses. They have also used the 'Muslim threat' as a weapon for gaining concessions from white leadership. . . . Perhaps as a consequence, many white leaders have become more willing to accept the . . . integrationist organizations as bargaining agents for the Negro community. Failure to do so, [they have inferred,] would strengthen the position of the extremists." (Ref. 1, pp. 43-46)

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Origins. "Beginning its active career . . . during the civil rights drives of 1960-61, Students for a Democratic Society emerged from the youthful arm of the League for Industrial Democracy. Essentially an organizational vehicle for a wide variety of welfare-oriented liberals like Harold Taylor, Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington, and Norman Thomas, the LID paid little attention to the Student League for Industrial Democracy until the youngsters broke away from it. The break apparently was animated largely by the model presented by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its vigorous activity in the South. With an articulate vision of a white, middle-class, northern counterpart to SNCC as their goal, Albert Haber of the University of Michigan and a handful of colleagues maneuvered themselves into control of the Student League for Industrial Democracy in the autumn of 1961. Based in New York . . . this group, comprising primarily people who had shared experiences in southern states in pursuit of civil rights, began to travel from campus to campus in the North, organizing students either for SLID or 'a new organization which may emerge.' A loose network of students rapidly formed, with small clusters of individuals in several colleges and universities. All tended to be strong and supportive admirers of SNCC, but they accepted the twin notions that a broader array of goals than those defined by civil rights were necessary and that the achievement of these wider aims required a more directly political involvement deriving from a more specifically political analysis of contemporary American culture. The consensus quickly evolved that a 'New Left' was needed, and that students would have to build it themselves through their own efforts. In June 1962, some 150 students, the great majority of them undergraduates, gathered in Port Huron, Michigan. The major enterprise of the meeting was the discussion and revision of a long and analytical paper, the first draft of which was prepared by Tom Hayden, recently graduated from the editorship of the Michigan Daily at the University of Michigan. By the time the group adjourned on June 15, The Port Huron Statement had acquired substantially both the form and content in which it was published shortly afterward. [This] was the founding document on which Students for a Democratic Society was based. With Hayden elected as its first president, SDS announced its basic goals in this fashion: 'We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation with two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life, and that society be organized to encourage independence in men and to provide the media for their common participation.'" (Ref. 1, pp. 206-207) "The document [went] on to recount the 'paradoxes and myths' of the economy: a 'remote-controlled' octopus where 'the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans own more than 80 percent of the personal shares of stock'; the military-industrial complex that believes in 'the permanent war economy'; automation that destroys 'whole categories of work,' forcing up unemployment to an 'acceptable' five million; and labor, the 'countervailing power' against the excesses of big business, itself becoming a part of the establishment. It [noted] the 'inhumanity' of the welfare state, the 'lunacy' of deterrence policy, the 'negative anti-Communist political stance' of foreign policy, 'paranoia' about the Soviet Union, and 'white American ethnocentrism' as a barrier to racial understanding . . . America should no longer aid 'corrupt anti-Communist regimes.' . . . Foreign aid should be given through international agencies, and Americans should 'anticipate more or less authoritarian variants of socialism and collectivism in many emergent societies.' America should abolish its political party 'stalemate' and create 'mechanisms of voluntary association' which [would] encourage the people to participate in political activities. Finally 'America should . . . abolish squalor, terminate neglect, and establish an environment for people to live in with dignity and creativeness.'" (Ref. 2, pp. 412-413)

Growth and Evolution. "By the opening of the academic year of 1962-63, the new organization had established 11 chapters on various campuses and had enrolled about

300 members. Although friendly relations with the League for Industrial Democracy for the most part were preserved, all formal connections with the parent body very quickly were broken; and in the early part of 1963, SDS had set up an independent national headquarters in Chicago. . . . Structurally, SDS [was] an individual membership organization, but both its requirements and its bookkeeping [were] essentially casual. To belong, one [had] only [to] pay annual dues of $2.00 and offer a 'reaffirmation of one's belief in democracy.' From the beginning, however, there [were] at least as many students who [associated] themselves with SDS activities and ideas without formally becoming affiliated as there [were] dues-paying members. . . . There always [were] regional and national offices in the organization, but the local chapters, granted an extremely high degree of autonomy, regularly [were] perceived as the central source of strength. When national policies [were] formulated, they virtually always [were] phrased as 'recommendations' to the membership. . . . Voting at quarterly regional meetings and at the annual national convention [followed] the one-member, one-vote principle, with an emphasis on direct participation in the meetings rather than on representation by chapter, by region, by college or university, or by some other basis. . . . [From] its founding, SDS gained annually in both chapters and individual members. Founded by fewer than 60 students from 11 institutions, by 1964 it had about 2,000 members on some 75 campuses. In 1966, the numbers had grown to almost 20,000 in nearly 200 institutions. [By 1968,] chapters in 275-300 colleges and universities [enrolled] nearly 30,000 individuals. These figures [applied] only to formal members; many more students [could] be rallied to participate in discussions, programs, and demonstrations. . . .

"After a first year of reliance on involvement in civil rights activities, the organization moved into new arenas in 1963, with the launching of its Economic Research and Action Program (ERAP). Thus, its first independently formulated emphasis was on community organizing. . . . The essence of this mode of action [entailed] the moving of a group of young people into a poor metropolitan area, where they themselves [lived] and [devoted] virtually all of their time to talking at length with the local residents about their problems, surveying major grievances, and presenting their findings to indigenous leaders in the community, whom they then [assisted] in pressing these systematic formulations on the city's relevant 'power structures. Out of these efforts [grew] tenant unions, local ad hoc community action committees, neighborhood newsletters, and programs of adult education and tutorial services for school children. By 1966, 300 full-time field workers were representing SDS in over a dozen cities. . . . By the autumn of 1964 the war in Vietnam had become an increasingly serious object of criticism, and several chapters made it the focus of their energies. At the University of Michigan in particular, SDS members worked in close association with faculty members to organize the first teach-ins against the American posture in Southeast Asia. This antiwar emphasis spread rapidly across the country, and burst into full bloom in March 1965, when the Ann Arbor teach-ins won considerable publicity in the national press, and in April 1965, when 20,000 people, the majority of them students, converged on Washington to march against the war and to provide a platform for a wide variety of speakers critical of American policies in Vietnam. . . . Spurred by the model of the Free University of New York, SDS moved into a new realm of emphasis in 1965, this time on radical innovation in higher education. In 1965-66, nearly 100 Free Universities, most of them fragile and short-lived, were founded on U.S. campuses, about half of them coming to birth through SDS's local influence. As this experience cumulated, plans for a Radical Education Program (REP) were formulated nationally and came to fruition in an operation based in Ann Arbor . . . and devoted to stimulating and coordinating student investigations, ideas, and experiments, with respect to college-level education. . . . Meanwhile, as the war in Vietnam and the draft, perceived as a mechanism for supplying young men to fight in battles of which they disapproved, became increasingly an object of criticism, some SDS chapters, recalling tactics of the civil

rights movement, tried occasional sit-ins during the latter part of 1965 at local draft boards. . . . During the same period, SDS, with apparent success, shifted to a much more militant set of postures; community organizing was legitimized by approval from the intellectuals and the welfare-oriented liberals; teach-ins still commanded impressive attention, both from within major colleges and universities and from outside purely academic precincts; and Free Universities were taken up by a wide range of students, not infrequently including those involved with formal student governments. Thus encouraged, SDS quite deliberately took the step . . . 'from dissent to resistance.' In this new emphasis on institutional opposition, the organization began to initiate and to support individuals and groups in the public and ceremonial burning of draft cards, in the election of jail rather than military service, and in civil disobedience to obstruct the functioning of induction centers. . . . [An] issue which SDS [subsequently] emphasized [was] that of university complicity in the Vietnamese war and in racial injustices . . . . Students [became] particularly sensitive to war-related research within the academy, to the recruitment of students by the CIA and representatives of the 'industrial-military establishment,' to perceived inadequacies in admissions policies with respect to Negro students or hiring policies with respect to Negro professors, and to a series of comparable matters. Civil disobedience and active resistance, not all of it nonviolent, [became] more frequent in the SDS style of expression, rationalized on the ground that 'the Establishment' [failed] to listen when protests [were] merely verbal." (Ref. 1, pp. 207-212) With - or in spite of - its evident hardening of line and approach, SDS in 1968-69 appeared to be growing rapidly in numbers and influence. It was the organization most firmly identified in the public mind with the wave of student militancy, campus revolts, and revulsion toward the Vietnam war. The May 12, 1969, issue of U.S. News & World Report noted: "Some of the SDS 'accomplishments' attest to its power. It was SDS, led by Mark Rudd, that spearheaded the attack on Columbia University in 1968 and closed down that institution for more than a week. . . . The SDS was instrumental in organizing the 'march on the Pentagon' to protest the Vietnam war in 1967. SDS helped to plan and lead the demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention [in 1968]. . . . [In the spring of 1969,] SDS led in [the] rebellion at Harvard and has had a hand in nearly every other recent disturbance on campuses all across the country." (Ref. 3, p. 35)

Fragmentation; Weatherman. 'SDS as a whole [appeared to be] moving steadily left. The House Committee on Internal Security, after an extended investigation, reported early in 1970: 'Policy statements, adopted by SDS national bodies . . . indicated that the organization had moved in the past seven years from support of social changes to achieve "participatory democracy" to the declared intention of mobilizing forces for a "socialist revolution" in the United States.' The SDS, a loosely structured, campus-based organization, long given to internal dispute, split during its national convention in Chicago, June 18-22, 1969." (Ref. 4, p. 354) The New York Times of June 23 reported: "The dramatic split . . . came as national officers of the organization read the Progressive Labor faction out of SDS as 'counterrevolutionary' and walked out of the annual national convention. The dispute between the tightly disciplined Progressive Labor party and much of the rest of SDS has been building for more than a year. . . . [The anti-Progressive Labor] group, numbering roughly a thousand, included most of the . . . national staff, almost all of the long-time veterans of the movement, and representatives of radical newspapers and film groups. . . . Progressive-Labor, which claims a more purist revolutionary line, hews to a rigid analysis of the necessity for a working-class struggle. While all factions of SDS say they are dedicated to the overthrowing of racism, capitalism, and imperialism, there have been sharp breaks on specific issues. Progressive-Labor, for instance, has accused Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam, of selling out by negotiating in Paris, and has branded many student demonstrations as 'adventurous, diversionary, and alienating to the working people.' It opposed the 'People's Park' struggle in Berkley [in the spring of 1969] as a liberal reformist move, and it rejects attempts to organize

alienated youth. It has opposed the militantly feminist Women's Liberation Movement and the Black Panther party . . . on the ground that the problems of women and Negroes are merely a reflection of the capitalist structure." (Ref. 5) The Progressive Labor (PL) party had originated in 1961 as a split-off from the Communist party in protest against "Khrushchev revisionism." In 1966 PL had disbanded its youth arm, the May 2nd Movement (named after a 1964 demonstration of that date), and sent its younger adherents to work inside SDS. There, the advantages of disciplined cohesiveness and of the appeal to radicalizing students of a stance of revolutionary certitude enabled PL to build a strong faction, which put it in position to bid for national leadership of SDS. In response to this challenge, individuals influential in SDS, including incumbent national leaders, felt compelled to construct a counter-faction or coalition. They also tried to outbid PL in revolutionary outlook and rhetoric, including - in attempts to show that PL, and not they, were the real "revisionists" - frequent citations from Marxist-Leninist authorities. In 1968 the "PL-ers" had clearly lacked the requisite numbers to seize control, but at the 1969 convention, after a period of feverish factional activities, their faction, the Worker-Student Alliance (W-SA) evidently could command a majority. When this became apparent, their opponents, conjoined in what had been called the "national collective" and had then taken the name of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), walked out of the convention, simultaneously proclaiming the expulsion from SDS of PL and the W-SA. But already, a further split - this time in the RYM - was at hand. (Ref. 2, p. 422; Ref. 6, passim)

"The Revolutionary Youth Movement faction took control of the Chicago headquarters, and [the other] segment, dominated by the Progressive Labor party factions, established its base in Boston. The Chicago group then split into RYM I and RYM II. RYM I became known as Weatherman, a name taken from a line in a song by Bob Dylan entitled Subterranean Homesick Blues: 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows.' RYM II [subsequently] became an independent organization, retaining the name without the numeral. The Weatherman faction [took] its lead from a policy statement prepared by three of its leaders - Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, and Bill Ayers - and published in the June 18, 1969, issue of SDS New Left Notes. The statement presented a strategy for creating a united front of high school and college students, servicemen, blue-collar workers, and blacks - all groups considered prone to 'fights' or 'blow-ups' with authorities - who could be mustered for a strong showing on any one of a number of issues. [According to the House Committee on Internal Security Annual Report for the Year 1969:] 'The Weatherman policy stated that the representatives of state power - the 'pigs' (police) - were a power which SDS would have to overcome in their course of struggle. In order to defeat the 'pigs' and the U.S. Army, training programs in karate, medical aid, and street mobility would be required . . . These so-called self-defense bands of SDS guerrillas would be utilized as patrols for surveillance of the 'pigs' and as demonstrators at police stations and courthouses when someone was "busted."' Differences among the New Left factions appeared to occur mainly over a matter of tactics or timing. All [were] devoted to revolutionary change but most [opposed] street fighting and terrorism [for the present] because they [considered] these tactics unrealistic, self-defeating, premature, or - in the lingo of the radical movement - 'adventurist.' The growing belligerence of SDS leaders who formed the Weatherman faction had been displayed in speeches, statements, and activities for many months before the split. Mark Rudd, Weatherman national secretary, was the SDS leader at Columbia University who led a student revolt in the spring of 1968 that was marked by violence. . . . The disorders forced Columbia to cancel classes for the final two months of the term. The Columbia pattern [was] repeated again and again on other campuses. SDS made efforts in 1968 and 1969 to extend the Columbia tactics to high schools in a number of cities. A 'workshop' on explosives and sabotage was held at its June 1968 convention. SDS extremists moved into another area of violence on March 13, 1969, when they forced Mayor Joseph L. Alioto of San Francisco off the speaker's

podium at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., ripped out microphone wires and overturned the lectern. A manual for a 'spring offensive,' distributed during a rumpus engineered by SDS at Kent State University in Ohio in April 1969 stated: 'During the course of the struggle it will probably be necessary . . . to carry out a series of escalating "mini" actions to help build (revolutionary) consciousness. . . . Beginning with guerrilla theater action in the dorms, we can escalate to disrupting classes, street marches, quick assaults on buildings, etc., before moving to the major confrontations of the struggle.'

"Training For Street Fighting And 'Days of Rage.' Still another step into the new phase of revolutionary action was taken during the 'four days of rage' in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969. [This was a national "action" called by the Weatherman faction.] About 600 participants ran through the streets smashing windows and attempting to burn buildings. It marked the first time that members of the New Left frontally attacked the police; previously they always tried to provoke police into attacking first. Though 283 were arrested during the four-day period, the leaders hailed the demonstration as a victory. (Those arrested had come from 25 states, the District of Columbia, and Canada; 83 of them were young women. Most of them were from 18 to 23 years old.) A leaflet distributed at a high school a month later stated: 'In Chicago we attacked the homes and businesses of the rich bastards who profit off war and oppression. We did a million dollars worth of damage and sent 60 pigs to the hospital. . . . Even more important . . . we showed young people around the country that there is an alternative to the jail schools, racist army, and boring jobs. We showed it was possible to fight cops and win. . . . ' The Weatherman unit held a national 'war council,' attended by 400 from various points in the country, in Flint, Michigan, December 27-31, 1969. (The other [PL-controlled] SDS group held a national council meeting at the same time in New Haven, Connecticut, where 400 delegates voted overwhelmingly to approve action to build an alliance between students and workers for revolutionary goals.] A Weatherman 'spokesman' [at the Flint meeting] was reported to have said that the council was held to discuss 'changing things from the troubled '60's to the violent '70's.' After the meeting, the leaders disappeared from public view and were assumed to have gone underground." (Ref. 4, pp. 354-356) "Liberation News Service reported that a Weatherman leader had spoken approvingly at [the] December 1969 'war council' of Charlie Manson, the leader of a gang accused of killing actress Sharon Tate and four others in and around her home at Bel Air, California. Among slogans shouted at the meeting were 'Charlie Manson Power!' and 'Sirhan Sirhan Power,' the latter a reference to the assassin of Robert F. Kennedy. 'Part of the armed struggle (as Weatherman leaders) laid it down, is terrorism.' " (Ref. 4, p. 351) "Twelve Weathermen (five of them girls) were indicted on April 2, 1970, on charges of conspiracy and violation of the federal anti-riot act - charges stemming from the 'days of rage.' The FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] instituted a nationwide manhunt for the missing 12. One was arrested on April 15. Several hundred thousand 'wanted' flyers were then distributed to law enforcement agencies throughout North America for nine of the group. The flyer [warned] that these individuals [had] 'been associated with persons who advocate the use of explosives, . . . may have acquired firearms' and [were] considered 'dangerous.' " (Ref. 4, pp. 356-357) "Evidence found [meanwhile] in the rubble of a bombed-out house on a fashionable street in New York's Greenwich Village on March 6, 1970, indicated that the basement had been used to manufacture bombs. Three persons died in the explosion; two were identified as members of the . . . Weatherman faction of SDS while the third was not identified. (The daughter of the owner of the $250,000 townhouse and another young woman, both identified as members of the ultra-militant left, escaped the blast and . . . disappeared.) . . . A police raid on an apartment in Chicago on March 30, 1970, turned up quantities of dynamite, blasting caps, bottles of liquid explosives, guns, and a book, Guns and How to Use Them,

that had been stolen from the public library. A woman who rented the apartment, [who was] now missing, was identified as a Weatherman." (Ref. 4, p. 347)

"Whether [the Weathermen had] gone underground only to hide out from the police or to go into a new stage of revolutionary action [was] unknown. There [were] reports that they [had] broken up into small so-called 'affinity groups' in the classic pattern of terrorist conspirators. The separation into small cells of only three to five persons [was said to be] necessary to protect the movement against informers and infiltrators. Some [questioned] whether young white Americans, products of middle-class affluence, [had] the stamina to live the lonely, hunted, depersonalized life of the true terrorist. Andrew Kopkind, a writer sympathetic to New Left complaints against American society, . . . expressed doubts that the Weatherman group was responsible for . . . bombings of corporation offices [which occurred] in New York [in the spring of 1970]. A note, signed 'Revolutionary Nine,' left behind by [one group of] bombers, was said to reflect a different political outlook. The note accused the corporations of forcing Americans to live a life that is really death: 'In death-directed Amerika [it was a current conceit of some radicals to spell America in the Germanic manner, apparently to imply that it was a fascist state] there is only one way to a life of love and freedom: to attack and destroy the forces of death and exploitation and to build a just society – revolution.' The references to death culture and life forces suggested an anarchist outlook, Kopkind said, and the note laced the 'internationalist, anti-police, anti-racism, and pro-Viet Cong references which mark the Weather ethic.' This comment [suggested] the existence of a number of small groups, differing in temper and tactics, but all committed to revolution and each eager to do its part in the coming apocalypse " (Ref. 4, p. 357)
"Authorities [suspected] that at most only a few hundred dedicated young revolutionaries [were] involved in terrorist activities. Little direct evidence [had been] found at the sites of explosions and fire-bombings. [But] suspicion [fell] on the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society partly because of discoveries of the bomb 'factories' and partly because Weatherman leaders [had] acted and spoken as though they wanted to be considered the vanguard of a violent revolution in the United States." (Ref. 4, p. 354)

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) came into being on April 15, 1960. As its name implies, it is an organization for student groups engaged in 'direct action' protest across the entire South." (Ref. 1, p. 179) Throughout the early 1960's, SNCC bore "the brunt of direct action protest across the South, and [was] effective in desegregating hundreds of lunch counters and other Jim Crow facilities in major Southern cities. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is widely associated with the 'sit-in movement' which began in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when four freshmen from the local A & T College refused to leave a lunch counter in a Woolworth store. The sit-in technique was not new, for at least as early as 1875 a Negro staged a one-man sit-in in the New York City Metropolitan Opera House. Labor used the sit-in in the 1930's, and CORE adopted the technique in the early 1940's. However, the Woolworth incident fired the imagination of youth all over America, and within a year a mass movement built around this technique had developed." (Ref. 2, pp. 471-472)

"Among the most ambitious projects undertaken by Snick has been the Mississippi summer program, in which more than 500 volunteers – many of them lawyers and law students – opened up a number of 'Freedom Schools' designed to promote Negro voter registration (1964). Snick was joined in this work by a number of other civil rights groups and religious organizations, and eventually extended its program to Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama.

"Snick was also one of the leading organizers of the Albany movement (1962), during which a concerted effort was made to desegregate all public facilities in what many observers then described as a 'completely closed' city." (Ref. 1, p. 179)

"The movement was widely endorsed by American liberals and received support from church groups and labor unions. Student groups on Northern campuses collected funds. White students from both North and South 'sat in' and served on the picket lines. Within twelve months more than one hundred cities had desegregated some lunch counters or other facilities as a result of the sit-ins. Within two years the number had doubled. Hundreds of students went to jail for their activities, many refusing to accept bail. Hundreds of others paid fines or served sentences in jail or on the work gangs. Snick has no stable membership, but draws upon almost all Negro colleges and a large number of predominantly white colleges and universities for its manpower. It has an interracial staff of around seventy-five working out of its Atlanta home office. Most of the staff workers draw only subsistence pay – fifteen to twenty-five dollars a week. Frequently less." (Ref. 2, p. 472)

"In the early 1960s, John Robert Lewis seemed the embodiment of a new black generation. As a student at Nashville's American Baptist Seminary and later at Fisk University, he joined with a group of white and black student radicals to found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1960. At the age of 23, he became the chairman of SNCC and helped organize mass demonstrations against Southern segregation and led black voter registration campaigns. Through it all, despite numerous arrests and occasional beatings, Lewis remained committed to a nonviolent struggle. But, frustrated with the slow pace of change, SNCC began to shift tactics and direction, becoming less nonviolent and less student-oriented. Many of the white members of the group left – some to work for radical change in the white community – and Lewis himself, defeated for re-election as SNCC chairman by Stokely Carmichael in 1966, left the movement." (Ref. 3, p. 12) "Carmichael joined SNCC at the time of its

inception in 1960. . . . He [was] . . . arrested 12 times while participating in organizational activities in Jackson, Mississippi; in New Orleans, Louisiana; as well as in the states of Alabama, Maryland, New York and Tennessee. Before being elected SNCC Chairman in 1966, Carmichael had been in Alabama with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, also known as the 'Black Panther' party. Carmichael attribute[d] his association with Snick to the fact that the organization is 'trying to lay the foundation for a revolution. I do not feel that a reform movement will solve the socio-economic problems facing us. The best it can do is bring those problems to the public. . . .' " (Ref. 1, p. 180)

Carmichael's successor in 1967 was Hubert G. ("Rap") Brown. Brown and Carmichael were blamed for inciting mobs to violence in several cities during the spring and summer riots of 1967. SNCC was also accused of teaching Negro children hatred of the whites in a Nashville, Tennessee, school subsidized with OEO funds. A movement to promote anti-Semitism in the ghettos was also begun during this period. (Ref. 4, pp. 26-27)

In August 1968, "Stokely Carmichael, fiery spokesman for 'black power,' . . . [was] expelled from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which he once headed. SNCC also was reported to have ended its alliance with the Black Panthers, a militant Negro organization that Mr. Carmichael originated. . . . Explanations by SNCC Leaders were vague and sometimes contradictory. But they revealed dissension inside SNCC that involve[d] both policies and personalities. . . . Phil Hutchings, present head of SNCC, announced the Carmichael ouster August 21, explaining only that Mr. Carmichael and SNCC 'were moving in different directions.'

"Other SNCC sources suggested that Mr. Carmichael had 'moved too far along the road to violent revolution.' " (Ref. 5, p. 9)

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The following remarks are excerpted from a discussion of "political terrorism" as a problem in the United States.

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was formed in Oakland, California in October 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale to serve as an armed guard to protect ghetto blacks from police abuse. [The name of the party was inspired by the example of the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization, which first adopted the black panther as a symbol.] Membership grew to 1,500 in 30 branches but suffered cutbacks due to arrests and internal purging of backsliders, informers, and self-interested hoodlums. While police action has decimated Panther leadership, it has also helped create martyrs and heroes like Fred Hampton and Seale and thus glorify the Panther image with young blacks. Fred Hampton, the Panther chairman in Illinois, was killed in a police raid on Panther headquarters in Chicago, December 4, 1969. Seale, the national chairman, was standing trial for murder in New Haven in May 1970. He was under four-year sentence for contempt of court for his benavior as one of eight defendants being tried in Chicago on anti-riot charges arising out of demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Convention. (Among other Panther leaders, Eldridge Cleaver, 'minister of information,' and his wife, Kathleen, 'communications secretary,' went into exile in Algiers after he jumped bail in July 1969 rather thar face assault charges in California; Newton, 'minister of defense,' was imprisoned for shooting an Oakland policeman; David Hillard, 'chief of staff,' was charged with threatening the life of President [Richard] Nixon in 1969.) Panthers have links with Black Student Union chapters, which provide a source of potential recruitment in high schools. But the size of the organization is not considered overly important, for the Panthers look upon themselves as an elite unit of vanguard fighters for a new order of society. Their models are the Castro and Maoist guerrillas of Cuba and China and the Algerian independence fighters. They are given to a 'rhetoric of violence' deliberately chosen for its effect of bravado before the established forces of law and order. Their dress and manner – black beret, black jacket, dark glasses, grim expression – serve the same purpose. In an early statement, the Panther Party said its 'main function . . . is to awaken the people and teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure.' First it would educate its people, more with action than words, then move on to the next phase of the struggle as an underground . . . . The Panthers would teach their people the 'correct method of resistance' to their brutal oppressors. 'Guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades (and) bazookas . . . will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure.' Later statements repeatedly emphasized the revolutionary nature of the Party . . . . But the Panthers differ from violence-prone elements of the white left in that they have a concrete program of 'what we want.' The list includes 'power to determine the destiny of our black community,' full employment, decent housing, exemption of blacks from military service, trial of blacks only by juries drawn from their own communities, and the end of police harassment." (Ref. 1, pp. 358-359) "The Federal Bureau of Investigation views the Black Panther Party . . . as a conspiratorial terrorist organization. Members of the party have accused police departments in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Oakland of attempting to kill them all off. The outcry over harassment was particularly strong after the police staged a pre-dawn raid on Panther headquarters in Chicago, December 4, 1969, killing two members, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Policemen said they had been fired upon. The Panthers denied that they had fired first; they contended Hampton was shot to death while he was in bed asleep. (A special coroner's jury ruled January 21, 1970, that the police shootings of the Panthers were justifiable. However, the state on May 8 dropped charges of murder and other offenses which had been brought against seven Panthers who survived the raid.) Objections have been raised to the setting of

high bail, up to $100,000 in some cases, which kept Panther defendants in jail up to a year or more before their trials began. When 14 Panthers came before a pre-trial hearing in New Haven on charges of having murdered a suspected informer, a large number of Yale University students went on strike in support of the defendants and virtually closed down the university for a few days." (Ref. 1, pp. 342-343) "The Panthers can rely on a broad base of sympathy in the black community even among some who disapprove of their flaunting of weapons and talk of revolution. Among liberals there are many who . . . feel that the Panthers have at root a just cause, that of freeing black people from oppression." (Ref. 1, p. 358)

The following is excerpted from a sympathetic account which appeared in a supplement on the Black Panthers published by the Guardian, a self-styled "radical newsweekly."

"The Alameda county jail contains an institution known to the black youth of the North Oakland ghetto as the 'soul-breakers,' the solitary confinement cells for 'disruptive' prisoners. In 1964 the cells were more full than usual, following a series of food strikes and other demonstrations by black prisoners . . . . One of the prisoners later said the time in solitary gave him time to think 'about the relationship between being outside of jail and being in.' The prisoner was Huey P. Newton and the 'soul-breaker' cell was the birthplace of the Black Panther organization of which Newton subsequently became minister of defense . . . . Before being convicted and sentenced for a year on an assault charge, Newton had been a law student at Merritt College, where . . . he had several run-ins with the Oakland police. When his sentence was up, he got in touch with Bobby Seale, whom he had known at Merritt, and together with a few friends they formed the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in the Fall of 1966. . . . From the very beginning, the Panthers' . . . program [leading points of which have been mentioned above] has been their hallmark within the left movement. At the same time, this has been the aspect of the party most obscured by the . . . news media, which from the beginning has tried to pass the party off as a band of apolitical, gun-toting crazies. The press based its distortions on the fact that the party openly advocated and practiced the right of armed self-defense. And, given the reign of white police terror constantly directed at the black citizens of Oakland, the Panthers viewed this aspect of their program as a day-to-day necessity. 'Our message is one and the same,' Newton said in February 1967. 'We're going to talk about black people arming themselves in a political fashion to exert organized force in the political arena to see to it that their desires and needs are met . . . . So it doesn't matter what heading you put on it, we're going to talk about political power growing out of the barrel of gun.' The party put the program into practice. Among their first efforts in Oakland was the formation of community police patrols. Newton put his law-school training to work and instructed all party members in the basic constitutional rights governing arrests and gun laws. From there, the party established a system of armed patrol cars, completely legal, carrying both guns and law books, and followed police patrol cars making their rounds of the ghetto. Whenever black men or women were stopped by the police, armed Panthers would be on the scene, making sure their constitutional rights were not violated. The Oakland police were outraged. But the brutality, harassment, and obscenity directed at black men and women tapered off. The program was a success and news of the party's existence spread rapidly. The sight of armed and disciplined groups of Panthers soon became familiar in the [San Francisco] Bay Area. The party went to great lengths, however, to stress two points about armed self-defense. First, they were operating within the law as defined by gun regulations and the constitutional right to bear arms. Second, that the arms were to serve a political purpose and were

not to be viewed in purely military terms . . . . [In early 1967] the Panthers had about 75 members and were based primarily in the Bay Area. The party, however, did not view itself as only a local organization and now faced the problem of expanding on a statewide and national level. At the same time, the party's initial successes had already reverberated to the state legislature, where California Assemblyman Don Mulford introduced a gun control bill designed as an attack on the Panthers. The party had to meet both the problems of spreading the word and defending their legal rights. An action was planned by Newton that was one of the more controversial events in the party's history. While the gun bill was being debated, on May 2, 1967, 30 armed Panthers, 24 men and 6 women, walked up the steps of the Capitol building, read a statement against the bill and stating the party's principles, and walked into the visitors' gallery of one of the legislative chambers. When the police and press arrived . . . the Panthers left the building, read the statement again, and started to leave. Then they were all arrested on a charge of conspiring to disturb the peace, and held for several days until bailed out. From the Panthers' perspective, the action was carefully planned and completely legal at every step. They were acting no differently from any 'gun lobby' registering opposition to the new law. But the spectre of 'blacks-with-guns-invade-legislature' was too much for the press to take, and the news media reported the event across the nation. The Panthers viewed the action as a success . . . . But the success was not without certain drawbacks. On the plus side, the Panthers were now nationally known and within a few months claimed branches in Los Angeles, Tennessee, Georgia, New York, and Detroit. Hundreds of black ghetto youth were attracted to the party and its program. On the other side, Bobby Seale and several others served a six-month prison sentence as a result of the action. The gun restrictions were passed, and the police and news media used the publicity . . . to initiate a . . . hysteria against the party among whites. The campaign was often successful, and the reaction reached into some sectors of the black community as well . . . .

"Following the Sacramento action and the legal defense they had built around it, the Panthers continued their operations in the Oakland black community. The police patrols continued, as well as the party's educational work around its . . . program, and the establishment of the Black Panther newspaper. The party also continued and developed further its policy of following through on whatever immediate problems black people would present to it . . . . If the people wanted a traffic light, the Panthers told the police to install one immediately or the party would start directing traffic. If black children were being harassed in the schools, the Panthers organized mothers to patrol the halls while armed party members stood guard outside. Liberation schools were also set up after regular classes were over. But as the party's successes grew, so did the intensity of police harassment. Police bulletin boards blossomed with descriptions of party members and their cars. On foot or driving around, Panthers would be stopped and arrested on charges ranging from petty traffic violations to spitting on the sidewalk. On October 28, 1967, the issue came to a head: early in the morning, a police car reported, 'I have a Panther car.' Several hours later, one policeman was dead and Huey Newton was under arrest with four bullet wounds in his stomach. When he recovered, he was charged with murder and locked in Alameda County jail without bail. Newton immediately proclaimed his innocence, but the police and press once again whipped up and intensified a . . . hysterical reaction to both Newton and the Black Panther party . . . . While thousands of people, black and white, rallied to Newton's defense, in the beginning the unequivocal demand to 'Free Huey' was the cause of some footdragging in the white liberal and radical community. Many argued that the demand should be 'Fair Trial for Huey' which would supposedly win wider support. But the Panthers were waging a political defense and held to the position in their program that black people could only receive a fair trial by a jury of their peers. Since the . . . character of the California courts precluded that possibility, the only just demand . . . was that Huey Newton be set free.

"What made the debate so intense was the emergence of the Peace and Freedom party as a political force in the California left and eventually across the country. The PFP was a coalition mainly of white left-liberals and radicals organized as a third party electoral alternative in opposition to the Vietnam war and in support of black liberation. The Panthers saw in the PFP's campaign machinery a chance for a wider educational campaign in Newton's defense. But the party held that any 'functional coalition' with whites could only be formed on the basis of support for the demand to 'Free Huey.' Thus, to form the alliance, the white radicals had to win over the liberals, many of whom saw the Panthers as a threat to the PFP's vote-getting 'respectability.' As the time approached for the PFP to file its ballot petitions at the end of 1967, a shortage of signatures forced the issue. . The radicals won out, and the alliance was formed. The Panthers took the petitions into the black community and put the PFP on the ballot – but with Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Kathleen Cleaver as candidates for state offices running on the basis of the Panther . . . program. Eldridge Cleaver was to be the California PFP's Presidential candidate, pending the national convention. The party's coalition with the PFP gave them an immediate public political exposure – among both blacks and whites – that would have been difficult to attain otherwise. And, given the needs of Newton's defense and the probability of further repression, the move was seen as important, if not necessary, for the party's survival. The Panthers saw the alliance as principled, respecting the rights of black people to self-determination. The mutual agreement was that the Panthers would set the PFP line on all issues related to the black community. All other policy would be formulated on the basis of one-man, one-vote . . . . Nevertheless, a number of black radicals outside the party viewed the alliance with whites with dismay, if not as a sell-out . . . . The issue was complicated by the fact that the Panthers were in the process of forming a 'merger' with SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee], which was formally announced at an Oakland 'Free Huey' rally on February 17, 1968. The principal leaders of SNCC – James Forman, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown – were named to leading positions in the party, with the leaders of both groups announcing a plan to form a mass black political party. The 'merger' was short-lived and began to crumble almost as soon as it was formed. While the full story is still not known, the event was significant in shaping the Panthers' relationship to other forces in the black movement. Soon after the PFP campaign and the defense of Newton got underway, the anticipated police repression began. On January 16, 1968, police raided the Cleavers' home . . . . A month later, following a raid on his home, Seale was arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Newly formed party branches were harassed across the country. On April 3 a public party meeting was broken up by armed . . . searches by Oakland police. Then, on April 6, . . . dozens of police opened fire on a home where a Panther meeting was taking place. Bobby Hutton, a founder of the party, was [killed], and Eldridge Cleaver was wounded and placed under arrest. The trial of Huey Newton lasted from July 5 to September 8, [1968,] and marked a high point in the Panthers' history. The public attention given the trial, due in large part to the defense efforts and the PFP campaign, provided the Panthers with an excellent opportunity, not only to defend Newton, but to wage a political offensive as well . . . . Within the trial, Newton managed to explain the Panther program . . . as well as demonstrate his innocence. Outside the courtroom, the party mobilized the community in a continual series of mass rallies. When the verdict came in . . . Newton was convicted of involuntary manslaughter . . . . Only hours after the verdict was announced, the Panther office was riddled with bullets by [police.] On September 27, the day Newton was sentenced, the courts reversed a decision on Cleaver's parole and gave him 60 days to return to prison. Cleaver had played a leading role in Newton's and the party's defense. After the California PFP named him its Presidential candidate, several other states had followed suit . . . . In August he won the national PFP nomination, even though his name was kept off several state ballots (including California's) because of his youth.

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The educational effect of the campaign had clearly helped the party's survival and even led to its growth. In the end, the official election tallies gave him almost 200,000 votes. In November, Cleaver went into foreign exile rather than return to prison, where he believed he would be killed.

"The party, which had dropped the 'for self-defense' from its name to reemphasize its political character, was now larger than ever with 30 branches and perhaps a thousand members at the end of 1968 . . . . While the party's defense work had helped its growth, the worst was yet to come. Seale and the remaining party leaders faced even greater tasks. Late in November Seale publicly said the party had been heavily infiltrated by police agents. By December party branches everywhere were being hit by local police, with [what seemed to the Panthers to be] indications . . . that the attacks were directed from Washington . . . . To survive the growing attacks, Seale effected a dramatic shake-up of the party's character. Along with chief of staff David Hillard, he ordered a 3-month ban on recruitment and at the same time began a program of intensified political education. These measures accompanied a systematic purge of the party's ranks of 'fools and jackanapes' refusing party discipline, indulging in drugs or petty crime, or operating in a 'purely military' manner – as well as conscious police agents. Along with the internal changes, a renewed emphasis was placed on the party's original 'serve the people' programs in the black community. Four programs were specified: free breakfast for children, free health clinics, liberation schools, and petition campaigns for community control of police. Every branch was required to implement at least the breakfast program and the police petitions. The first breakfast program started in Oakland, January 20, 1969, and spread to dozens of cities within a few months. The breakfasts – cooked from donated food obtained by the party from local businesses and served in local churches or community centers – were soon feeding thousands of hungry children every day . . . . [But] the political reaction to the party's new turn was . . . severe . . . . Panther offices across the country were raided. Food supplies for the breakfast program were destroyed. [Groups of Panther leaders were, in the Panthers' view, "framed," in cases including, most notably, those of the "New York 21" and the "New Haven 14."] On March 20, 1969, Seale, along with seven white anti-war activists, was indicted on conspiracy charges stemming from the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. Faced with this onslaught – which decimated the party's leadership, placed hundreds in jail, tied the rest up in court cases, and resulted in [a number of Panther] deaths – Seale and the remaining functional leadership called for a national conference in mid-July [1969] to establish a 'united front against fascism' . . . . The UFAF meeting was open to anyone – liberal, radical, or whatever – who opposed fascism and had the sole purpose of approving and implementing one program: a nationwide program for community control of police. Although widely attended, the success of UFAF was limited. Its positive achievement was a renewed sense of urgency among a wide spectrum of groups to rally to the Panthers' defense. However, the petition campaign, although verbally endorsed, never really got off the ground. After [UFAF] the repression of the Black Panther party continued to escalate. Seale [was] imprisoned for four years after being bound and gagged and found in contempt of Judge [Julius] Hoffman's court. In August [1969] he was charged with conspiracy to commit murder in Connecticut. Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were [killed] in Chicago, followed by a police . . . assault on the Los Angeles Panther office. David Hillard was charged with threatening [President] Nixon's life. Yet the Panthers . . . continued to hold their own, to further their programs, and to gain even wider support among growing numbers of people – black, brown, and white . . . . " (Ref. 2)

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The following critical remarks on the Panthers have been excerpted from an article which appeared in The Atlantic magazine:

"The . . . thirst for retributive suicide appears in everything the Panthers do, from their children's breakfast program, which really is only a front . . . for implanting party dogma in ever-younger minds, to the deliberately self-defeating courtroom tactics of the Panther 21 or Bobby Seale . . . . Their ineptly constructed party doctrine, which borrows selectively from Mao (the power of the gun), Che (feed on the brutality of the occupying army), and Al Fatah (terrorize, disrupt, destroy) is suicide, too, in a country which presently prizes peace and quiet above all else . . . . Who wants to stand around shouting encouragement to enraged boys and girls who are trying to break the bonds of their own blinding victimization by bringing the roof down upon us all? There, I think, is the uncomfortable gap between the rock and the hard place in which American liberals have gotten caught since it became clear to most of them that the Panthers are the objects of an unuttered, loosely coordinated police conspiracy. They obviously have been persecuted, raided, harassed, possibly even murdered; tried by juries of frightened policemen and found guilty, without due process, of being what J. Edgar Hoover has insisted . . . is a threat to the internal security of the United States. . . . Some police and even some judges seem to have taken the FBI director's conclusion as the signal for a nationwide vendetta . . . . Thus the Panthers have become classic objects for the attention of those of us who believe that the republic will stand only so long as the civil liberties of all of us, even our most hateful fellow citizens . . . are assured. But . . . the Panthers are not only ungrateful, they are scornful of civil libertarians . . . . They are not interested in their own or anyone else's civil liberties within the American system as it now prevails." (Ref. 3, pp. 56-58) "I really don't know what to do about the Black Panthers . . . except lament the fact that they have gone over the brink and that there is nothing any of us can do to bring them back until we correct the social, political, and economic conditions which pushed them over. The cause of civil liberties and polite fund-raising for Panther legal defense won't help to accomplish that, for two reasons: first, by deliberately and madly challenging the courts to deprive them of those very liberties, the Panthers have become the leading anti-civil libertarians in this country, and every dime sent to their legal fund simply strengthens that destructive cause; and second, because funds given for the Panthers' legal defense only free their own . . . resources for the purchase of more guns and more of their tragically suicidal indoctrination of aggrieved and therefore malleable little children. The cause of illegal oppression conducted by frightened police forces won't help to accomplish it either. Police power applied outside the law, as it apparently has been used in Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, and New York, is even more corrosive to the cause of civil liberties than the Panthers' insane behavior. But unlike the madness of the Panthers, it can be dealt with politically, and despite such seeming setbacks as . . . the incredibility of the coroner's findings in the fatal Chicago Black Panther police raid, it is being dealt with both by concerned civilian police leaders and by public pressure. It is a far better cause, I think, than Free Bobby, Free Huey, Free Eldridge, Free the Panther 21 . . . " (Ref. 3, p. 61)

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NOTE: Information about the Black Panther Party may be obtained from: Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, California 94126.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

"On December 9, 1958, Robert Welch, a retired New England candy manufacturer, founded the John Birch Society at a meeting in Indianapolis. Its purpose: to cope with 'the threat of the Communist conspiracy.' Unless, he said, 'we reverse forces which now seem inexorable in their movement, you have only a few more years before the country in which you live will become four separate provinces in a world-wide communist dominion ruled by police-state methods from the Kremlin.' " (Ref. 1, p. 324) On April 4, 1961, the Army made public extracts from the service record of Captain John M. Birch, for whom the John Birch Society was named. "The record shows that he was decorated twice and was in behind-the-lines intelligence work in China during World War II. Members of the society say he was slain by Chinese Communists. The Army extract says he was killed on Aug. 25, 1945, ten days after the end of the war. But it does not say how he was killed or mention the Communists. He was a Baptist missionary in China before the war with Japan and was commissioned in the Army Air Corps after the fighting began. He was 27 when he died." (Ref. 2, p. 12) "Welch has referred to Birch as 'probably the first American casualty in that third world war between Communists and the . . . free world.' " (Ref. 3, p. 344)

"Growth of the new society was rapid, and it is now described by observers as 'the base organization of the extreme Right.' " (Ref. 1, p. 324) "Welch asserted in a 300-page tract called The Politician that the American government and American churches and schools were deeply infiltrated by traitors seeking to deliver the United States over to the Kremlin. Former President Eisenhower was described in this publication as a 'dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy.' . . . . The John Birch leader explained, March 31 [1961] that The Politician was a reprint of a private letter he had written before the society was founded; he insisted that it did not constitute a part of the organization's program." (Ref. 3, p. 345) "In a speech in 1958 that outlined the policies of the society, Mr. Welch advocated the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, repeal of the income tax law, an end to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and foreign aid, cessation of cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, restrictions of collective bargaining and an end to all civil rights programs. He termed civil rights as merely a cover-up for a movement similar to the Communist movement in China." (Ref. 4, p. 5)

"Mr. Welch was born in 1899 on a North Carolina farm. Most of his paternal ancestors were either farmers or Baptist preachers who traced their lineage to Miles Welch, who came to this country from Wales in 1720. He spent four years at the University of North Carolina, two years at the United States Naval Academy and two years at Harvard Law School. He moved to Boston in 1919 and was in the candy business all his adult life until his retirement [in 1957]. He has served as a director of a bank and large business organizations and was a board member of the National Association of Manufacturers for seven years . . . . He has traveled widely, spoken often in public, mainly on the theme of communism, and has written three published books. The last, in 1954, was titled The Life of John Birch." (Ref. 4, p. 5)

"While the Birchers usually protest . . . that they do not go in for secrecy, they admit that the number of society members is a secret. [The estimated number of members is between 20,000 and 50,000.] . . . The Birchers further acknowledge that the names of the members are not revealed, although they point out that any member who wants to say publicly that he belongs to the society is free to do so." (Ref. 5, p. 91) "A transcription of Welch's presentation at the founding meeting is the society's Blue Book. It calls for organization of a 'monolithic body' operating 'under completely authoritative control at all levels.' The local chapters [are] each limited to

20 members having no direct contact with members of other chapters . . . . The John Birch Society welcomes as members only individuals willing to work energetically to promote attainment of its objectives. The Blue Book states: 'We need disciplined pullers at the oars and not passengers in the boat, . . . a million members is all we would want.' " (Ref. 5, p. 13) " 'The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government,' [Mr. Welch has said]. 'Yet our determination to overthrow tyranny is the very stuff of which revolutions are made.' He has said that communism is being slipped over on the American people so gradually and insidiously that before long 'they can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against established government.' " (Ref. 6, p. 62)

"The national headquarters at [395 Concord Street,] Belmont, Massachusetts, . . . [is] a red-brick, two-story building which the Society shares with an insurance company . . . . Welch uses the street floor and the basement, and the offices of American Opinion, the Society's official magazine, are in the basement of an adjoining building. Of approximately 125 full-time paid employees throughout the country, the headquarters employs about sixty-five. The country is divided into four sections for Society administrative purposes and for efficiency of operation in the face of a massive amount of paper work . . . . Unlike many other organizations of the Radical Right, the Society does not file reports as a tax-exempt organization with the Internal Revenue Service. It has never applied for such status. Welch once explained why he does not want contributions to the Society to be tax-deductible, and why he had not applied for tax-exemption for the Society: he is opposed to tax-exemption as a form of government subsidy, a form of statism. (The Founder, incidentally, draws no salary from the Society, and just how much of his own money has been contributed to the cause is not known.) . . . The Society's expanding activities are mirrored in its financial reports to the state of Massachusetts. In 1959, the organization's first full year of operations, it reported no paid officers but 14 paid employees. The total income was $129,000. In 1960, it was $198,000. In 1961, the Society nearly tripled its gross income – to more than $534,000 – and sharply increased its staff. In 1962, gross income rose to $737,000, and in 1963 passed the million-dollar mark. . . . At the close of 1963, Welch revealed in a report to his members that the Society was spending two million dollars a year to bring its message to the American people. The picture of Birch operations is of a substantial organization unique among Radical Right movements – and this accounts in large measure for the Society's ability to survive the critical publicity in recent years. It is the first extremist group in years to be well organized, and to have any degree of success in recruiting members at the grass-roots level. It is financed by dues and contributions received on a continuing basis, in contrast to many other Radical Right groups which have languished for lack of quick-cash support. The Society has a continuing program of activity for its members, using its official monthly Bulletin to issue assignments to members who meet regularly at chapter meetings." (Ref. 7, pp. 37-40)

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MINUTEMEN - TODAY

"Most Americans regard the para-military, underground organization known as the Minutemen as merely a handful of crackpots and malcontents preparing for a Communist takeover in the United States which only the Minutemen and a few other Radical Rightists believe is imminent or even possible. But [others fear] the potential danger which even [such] a handful of misguided individuals [could] represent." (Ref. 1, p. 29)

Origin. "The Minutemen idea was conceived by ten sportsmen on a duck shoot in 1959. Robert [Bolivar] DePugh, a [then 36-year-old] Missouri drug manufacturer, [subsequently] head of the organization, recalled later: 'We got to talking about how bad off the country would be in the case of invasion and how such a group as ours could become a guerrilla band.' " (Ref. 1, pp. 29-30) "The loose aggregation of vigilante bands [then] put together [by] DePugh and [his nine] duck-hunting companions [was planned] to provide the country with a home guard that would train in the bramble and fight off the Communists they believed to be conspiring to take over the country by 1973." (Ref. 2) "The outfit took its name from the famed Colonial defenders of the Revolutionary War. The term 'Minuteman' originated in 1774 after the Massachusetts Revolutionary Convention provided for a militia to be ready on the 'shortest notice' to take up arms and fight for liberty where needed. But unlike those early patriots whose stand at Lexington and Concord [became] legend and who gave their lives to perpetuate the American heritage, DePugh's namesakes [were] organized into secret cells, [spied] upon neighbors, [attempted] to infiltrate police agencies and the military, [operated] under coded names, and [were] armed to fight 'subversives' in underground warfare." (Ref. 3, p. 5) "DePugh felt a million patriots functioning in well disciplined supersecrecy could thwart the deadly [Communist] plot, or at least take to the hills as guerrillas if necessary and make life miserable for the subjugators. [The Minutemen, however,] have never come close to the million-man goal. [In 1966] authorities [estimated] their total at a few thousand." (Ref. 2)

National Notoriety in 1961; "New York Times" Survey. From 1959 on, "held together only by strident monthly bulletins written by DePugh from his home and office in tiny Norborne, Missouri, gun-loving bands of Minutemen trained on field and range to prevent the takeover and expose Communists in high places. In the process, they had several brushes with the law, beginning with the arrest [on October 20, 1961] of Richard Lauchli, Jr. [then an] Illinois Minutemen leader, in the theft of 23 bazookas from the Government proving ground at Madison, Indiana." (Ref. 2) "The Minutemen burst onto the national scene [at the time of Lauchli's arrest] when twenty of them were discovered holding a 'guerrilla warfare seminar' [at Shiloh] in Southern Illinois, using weapons ranging from rifles to 80-mm. mortars." (Ref. 3, pp. 5, 8) "It was about this time that the Minutemen's field maneuvers with bazookas, camouflage uniforms, jeeps, and other such military paraphernalia got a flurry of publicity across the nation." (Ref. 4) Shortly thereafter, The New York Times made a nationwide survey to ascertain the character and extent of the movement. The following is quoted from the survey: "The Minutemen is not an organization in an ordinary sense. It is a very loose federation of small units whose lack of structure casts doubt on its potential for growth. While guerrilla warfare training is its foremost stated aim, the movement is essentially a catch-all group for persons with unfulfilled enthusiasms for almost anything from military drilling to spying on their neighbors. Its supposed strength is based on uncorroborated claims. Responsible authorities throughout most of the country are unaware of any Minutemen activity. Intensive investigation has confirmed the existence of no more than a few hundred adherents. The identities of only a handful of these . . .

have become known. A number of them are persons of questionable character and responsibility. The chief import of the movement appears to be a disorganized sample of numerous right-wing movements dotting the country whose common denominator is 'anti-communism.' Maneuvers of Minutemen have been observed only in southern Illinois and San Diego, California, involving no more than a few dozen persons in each case . . . . Meetings studying guerrilla warfare generally do not violate the law, even if firearms are displayed, if there is no intent of producing public disorder. Federal and state laws throughout the country as a generality ban only possession of machineguns. Minutemen profess to be practicing for action if the country is 'taken over' by an enemy and other public agencies are not functioning . . . . The discrepancy between claims [of a membership of 25,000 in forty states] and visible evidences may be largely due to the nature of the movement. Guerrilla practice is only one of its activities, and an optional one. Its program embraces almost every form of anti-Communist activity from preparing physically for enemy occupation to disseminating right-wing literature. The movement is open to virtually anyone unconnected with a subversive organization. There are no restrictions as to age, sex, or physical condition. There is no formal procedure for expelling members who prove undesirable; they are simply 'isolated from vital information' and thereby ostracized. 'Even a felony record is not a bar to membership, if a person appears to be now a good citizen,' Mr. DePugh [has] said . . . . Dues are optional, and there is no set program of activities. The movement is divided into 'autonomous 'bands' of no more than fifteen members, which function independently of each other and, to a great extent, of any central organization. About half the present units, Mr. DePugh says, were previously organized local lay militia groups that affiliated with the Minutemen . . . . Ten anonymous regional directors pass down manuals and literature to group leaders. But, Mr. DePugh says, there is no 'chain of command' either upward or downward – on the theory that it is in the nature of guerrilla units to operate independently. Secrecy of membership is maintained, he says, so that members – 'many of them doctors, lawyers, and professional people, and from all other walks of life,' – will not be embarrassed by public 'misunderstanding.' Primarily, the secrecy is to prevent the Communists from building a file of prime enemies in the event of a 'take-over,' he also said. 'I don't even know the members' names,' Mr. DePugh says. 'All we ask is the name and address of the unit leader – and this can be a pseudonym. I have no way of knowing exactly how many members we have, except that each group is supposed to have a minimum of five and a maximum of fifteen. So I strike an average of eight.' Recruiting . . . is done initially through classified advertisements. A typical one recently invited readers to 'Join the Minutemen' and described the group as: 'An organization of loyal Americans dedicated to the preservation of both national and individual freedom. Help put real strength into civilian defense. Pledge yourself and your rifle to a free America. For full details write "Minutemen," 613 East Alton, Independence, Mo.' This is only a mailing address, at a small building Mr. DePugh owns that is tenanted by a sign-painting concern. The Minutemen's centralized affairs are largely in his hat, his head, his modest home in nearby Norborne and in liaison he says he carries on with the other founders of the movement. Five of the nine have dispersed from the Independence area to other parts of the country. They comprise its 'executive council,' and with 350 others who joined at their invitation, Mr. DePugh says, provide the modest financing for their literature distribution. The Minutemen disclaim affiliation with any other organization – including a number of others with titular variants on the Revolutionary War name of Minutemen. Mr. DePugh is noncommittal about such other right-wing movements as the John Birch Society, to which he belongs, and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, headed by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz of Long Beach, California. The Minutemen disseminate literature of such organizations, but concentrate mainly on their own, such as Mr. DePugh's monograph, 'What's Wrong with Communism?' He says this has been distributed in high schools to which Minutemen have access – the membership including persons as young as fifteen . . . .

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A basic Minutemen tract lists the alternative Communist methods of 'armed invasion,' 'internal revolution,' and 'nonviolent political take-over.' 'By getting secret Communists and their fellow-travelers elected or appointed to high Government posts,' it says, 'they can promote waste, inefficiency, delay preparations for war and turn our own foreign policy against us. What do you really know about the Congressmen from your district? The State Senator or State Representative? Could any of these men have been indoctrinated in Communist ideology at some time in their career? We must be willing to continue the fight for liberty even though we no longer have the legal support of established authority, [and] prepare ourselves to take any action – no matter how brutal – that may be required to renew the protection of the United States Constitution for further generations. We must investigate, by means of our own secret membership, the possible infiltration of Communist sympathizers into American organizations of government, business, labor, religion, or education.' Asked about such intelligence operations, Mr. DePugh said: 'We're certainly not trying to compete with the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Central Intelligence Agency. But on a local basis we feel we're in a better position to know our friends and neighbors than anybody else. A lot of people in this country are Communists without knowing it themselves' . . . . DePugh has contempt for the existing Federal civil defense organization, regarding it as largely a group of jobholders. He favors citizens building inexpensive family bomb shelters, but thinks they may be useless because the Russians will use 'nerve gas and bacteriological warfare' before nuclear bombs. Against this, he says, the organization is planning to mass produce for its members inexpensive 'Minute masks' – plastic body-hoods with chemical-filled breathing tubes. Mr. DePugh cites justification for the movement in President John F. Kennedy's January 1961 remark that: 'We need a nation of Minute Men; citizens who are not only prepared to take up arms, but citizens who regard the preservation of freedom as a basic purpose of their daily life.' " (Ref. 5)

Description of Robert B. DePugh. At the same time it published the findings of its survey, The New York Times published the following description of DePugh: "He is 38 years old [this was in 1961], of slender build and has black hair, dark eyes, a Roman nose, and somber attire that give him a young-Lincolnesque appearance at times. He talks in a Missouri twang-drawl with a college vocabulary and an earnest soft-sell manner bespeaking some years as a wholesale drug salesman. While conversing, he sucks throat lozenges and plucks nervously at his fingernails. He has ready, smooth answer for practically any question put to him. As a native of Independence, Mo., he tosses off casually that his father and Harry S. Truman are 'good friends' and that in fact one of the former President's first jobs was working under his father in the Independence City Collector's office. Mr. Truman says he never worked in the collector's office and does not know the elder Mr. DePugh. At different times, Mr. DePugh has spoken of World War II service with the Signal Corps, the Coast Artillery, and the Air Force, including civilian radar training at the University of Colorado. The only record the Department of Defense has for him shows one year of service (1943-44) in the Coast Artillery at Fort Monroe, Va., ending in discharge for unknown reasons. The University of Colorado has no record of Mr. DePugh's attending or of its ever having offered a radar training course. After maintaining for months that he had no opinion about the John Birch Society . . . Mr. DePugh disclosed . . . that he had been a member of the society for six months, while still professing unfamiliarity with its views. He likewise professes ignorance of the views of Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, but he quotes Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader. In both politics and the drug business, Mr. DePugh's forte is concocting new products. In a few years he has developed his Biolab Corporation of Norborne, Mo., near Independence, to a gross business of around $400,000 a year,

with new compounds for animals, including 'geriatric hormones' . . . . Mr. DePugh grew up in Independence, where his father was a sheriff's deputy for thirty years. He took courses at the University of Missouri, Kansas State University, and Washburn University in Topeka. After World War II he worked for drug and other concerns in the Midwest for several years and then started his own company. He lives in a modest frame house in Norborne with his wife and five children. He disclaims any religious affiliation." (Ref. 6)

Subsequent Analysis. Subsequent analyses of the Minutemen have tended to confirm the picture drawn by The New York Times in 1961. The following description, for example, is excerpted from an article published in the winter of 1966-67: The Minutemen "regard the educational, political, and propaganda programs of other Radical Rightist groups as futile, asserting that 'there is no chance of the average American citizen to regain control of his own destiny at the ballot box.' Their total rejection of the traditional American philosophy that political, economic, and social change can be brought about peacefully through the democratic system, is evidenced by the fact that DePugh quotes readily from Mao Tse-tung's treatises on guerrilla warfare. The Minutemen's 'security measures' are indicative of their James Bond-like, superspy mentality. Membership applications are marked 'Secret' (in capital letters) and new applicants are advised to use post boxes or post offices where they are not known. In communicating with central headquarters at Norborne, Missouri, members are told to use two envelopes with opaque material between them to avoid infra-red cameras, to omit return addresses, and to avoid using the telephone. Recruitment material suggests subscribing to left-wing periodicals to confuse postal inspectors . . . . The secrecy and loose organization of the Minutemen have a certain propaganda value which overrides even the security considerations. Estimates of the size or the organization range from 2,000 to more than 25,000 members. While DePugh refuses to comment on the size of the Minutemen, he constantly alludes to various fantastic programs which give the impression of a vast underground network. It is generally believed that the true strength of the Minutemen is very much closer to the lower than to the higher estimate. Claims of extensive intelligence files on '68,000 Communists and fellow travelers,' 100 college students participating in Minutemen secret summer survival courses, and a scheme to sabotage President Lyndon B. Johnson's re-election bid by infiltrating into Democratic Party campaign headquarters, conjure up a picture of vast and sinister operations in the mind of the average American. Close scrutiny of the Minutemen suggests, however, a marked discrepancy between their claims and the visible evidence of their activities. Studies have shown that the Minutemen are a loose confederation of small units serving as a reservoir for individuals with a bent for anything from military drilling to spying on their neighbors. Its supposed strength is based on uncorroborated claims, and its publicized activities have involved only handfuls of self-proclaimed patriots - sometimes of dubious character. Furthermore . . . the Minutemen are being carefully watched by Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies . . . . DePugh has advised his members against possession of illegal weapons, stating: 'For our type of activity, a rifle in the closet is far better than a machinegun hidden in a field a mile away, so why invite trouble with the Federal government?' But DePugh [has] obviously not heeded his own advice. In November 1966 he was convicted of conspiracy and violation of U.S. gun control laws . . . . While many of the Minutemen's directives are characterized more by a flair for the dramatic than by a sense of reality, there is the ever-present possibility that among the gun-toting activists who read such flamboyant rhetoric, there may be a disturbed mind which will take them literally. In 1963, for example, the Minutemen publication On Target listed the names of twenty Congressmen who had voted against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and preceded the list with a warning to the twenty legislators: ' . . . patriots are not going to let you take their freedom away from them. They

have learned the silent knife, the strangler's cord, the target rifle that hits sparrows at 200 yards. Only their leaders restrain them. Traitors beware! Even now the cross-hairs are on the back of your necks.' DePugh shrugged off this statement as mere dramatization, but the American people learned [when President Kennedy was assassinated] in November 1963 the evil that can be wrought by one warped man with a rifle." (Ref. 1, pp. 30-31)

Formation of the Patriotic Party. After the burst of publicity given them in 1961, the Minutemen did not receive major national attention from the press until 1966. In 1963 some Minutemen put on a highly publicized field maneuver in California, and in the same year the California Attorney General, Thomas C. Lynch, issued a report calling them and four other extremist groups "a threat to the peace and security" of the state. Shortly before the 1965 state elections in New Jersey, the New Jersey Attorney General ordered an investigation of what he said was an armed group "similar" to the Minutemen. But no results of this investigation were publicly revealed. (Ref. 4) Then, "despite the Minutemen's [previously] avowed rejection of political action. DePugh held a convention in Kansas City in July 1966 to found the so-called Patriotic Party." (Ref. 1, p. 31) "DePugh told a St. Louis Post-Dispatch reporter that the Minutemen were working to form a united membership drawn from about thirty small but militant organizations of the extreme Right, that it would be called the Patriotic Party, and that its members would also try to infiltrate the two major parties." (Ref. 7, p. 45) "About 400 persons attended the opening session where DePugh made it clear that the initial financing of the party had come from the Minutemen treasury and that party headquarters would be located at the National Office of the Minutemen in Missouri. The convention attracted a variety of rightists, ranging from strong conservatives to known hate-mongers and antisemites. Racist, anti-Negro propaganda was available at the convention, and a featured speaker was the notorious antisemite, Kenneth Goff, former lieutenant of Gerald L. K. Smith and in recent years head of his own extremist organization, 'Soldiers of the Cross.' Prior to the convention of the Patriotic Party, DePugh published a pamphlet entitled 'Blueprint for Victory' in which he outlined his reasons for entering the political arena. He denied that he had changed his position on the futility of political action, but set forth the rationale for the Patriotic Party in three succinct points: '(1) Political action alone will not suffice. (2) A new political party cannot win by conventional means. (3) A new party can win if it serves its proper function as the political arm of a complete patriotic resistance movement.' In the same pamphlet, DePugh gave the specific goal of his peculiar brand of urgent pessimism and political action: 'In 1972 we will make a one-time try at the presidency. That must be a "do-or-die" effort. No party can possibly put a real patriot in the White House before that date and our free Republic cannot last much after.' " (Ref. 1, p. 31) "Regional meetings of the Patriotic Party were held early in September 1966 in several cities scattered across the country, and were addressed by DePugh and by Kenneth Goff . . . . Among others who addressed the Patriotic Party gatherings were John Martino, listed a few years [previously] as a speaker available through the John Birch Society's lecture bureau, and antisemite Richard Cotten. By the fall of 1966, the Patriotic Party had spawned units in a few widely scattered states – Texas, California, Washington, Oklahoma, Arizona, and Connecticut – and had drawn to its banners a small but zealous following of the far-out Right. DePugh claimed followers in forty-one states." (Ref. 7, p. 46) On July 4, 1967, "the Patriotic Party, headed by Minutemen leader Robert Bolivar DePugh, nominated former Alabama Governor George C. Wallace as its presidential candidate for 1968 contingent upon Mr. Wallace's approval of the party's choice for second man on the ticket. Its choice for Vice President was William Penn Patrick of San Rafael, California, founder and board chairman of a cosmetic company. DePugh, party chairman, placed the names in nomination, and they were approved with

reportedly believed were gathering places for leftist elements and pacifist sympathizers." (Ref. 7, p. 47) These arrests "climaxed a ten-month investigation. Police seized arsenals that included mortars, bazookas, machineguns, semiautomatic rifles, home-made bombs, more than a million rounds of ammunition, machetes, crossboys, and garroting nooses . . . . Among activities which the police [claimed to have observed] were: Efforts by Minutemen to infiltrate the reserve unit of the Army's 11th Special Forces – the 'Green Berets' – to learn guerrilla tactics; field maneuvers to perfect command tactics and to test home-made bombs; [and] efforts to stir up racial discord by furtively distributing racist literature which appeared to be the work of Negro extremists." (Ref. 1, p. 29)

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only two dissenting votes. DePugh described Mr. Patrick as a 37-year-old millionaire who had opposed Governor Ronald Reagan of California in the primary election. Speaking at the final meeting of the party's three-day annual convention, DePugh said that the party had 3,000 dues-paying members . . . . A total of 380 persons registered for the convention." (Ref. 8) Meanwhile, it was speculated that the Patriotic Party, while "unlikely to have any significant impact on the American political scene, could have some interesting implications for the Minutemen themselves. The kind of activist who had heeded the Minutemen's call to arms in the past is not likely to be interested in the less glamorous day-to-day work of political organization. Furthermore, if DePugh intends to expand his political base, he will have to moderate the tone of his pronouncements to appeal to the less militant far-rightists who, until now, have been critical of the Minutemen's defeatist attitude and sometimes legally questionable activities. In the November 1966 Birch Society Bulletin, Founder Robert Welch declared: 'Since the approach of the Minutemen to the problem of fighting Communism is so different from our own . . . we feel that nobody should belong to both organizations.' " (Ref. 1, p. 31)

Arrests and Trials, 1966-67. Meanwhile the Minutemen "were beginning to receive increasing attention from law enforcement authorities. DePugh himself had had several run-ins with the law." (Ref. 7, p. 46) "On May 31, [1966] he was indicted by a federal grand jury on 34 charges of [violating the Federal Firearms Act] by possessing machine-guns and equipment to convert carbines into machineguns." (Ref. 3, p. 8) In July 1966 "he was arrested in Missouri on state charges of kidnapping two young women and holding them captive at a Richmond, Mo., residence for two weeks while urging them to serve the cause by seducing 'Communists in high Government positions for blackmail purposes.' " (Ref. 2) "In the fall of 1966, during his trial on charges of violating the Federal Firearms Act, a [former] member of the Minutemen testified that the band had discussed plans to assassinate Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a scheme to put cyanide gas in the air-conditioning ducts at the U.N. headquarters building in New York. On November 14, 1966 DePugh was convicted of conspiracy and of possession of automatic weapons or silencers without registering them, and of not paying a federal transfer tax on them. On January 17, 1967 he was sentenced to four years in federal prison, to be followed by five years on probation. Troy Houghton, West Coast coordinator of the Minutemen, was sentenced to three years in prison, and Walter P. Peyson, an aide to DePugh, received two years in jail and three on probation. U.S. Judge Elmo Hunter, who pronounced the sentences, ordered that during the probationary periods, the convicted Minutemen could not belong to any organization using weapons illegally. If they joined any military type of organization, they were to tell their probation officer about it and provide him with the names of the organization's officers . . . . A few days later, [DePugh] resigned as national coordinator of the Minutemen. He said the identity of the leader or leaders who would replace him would be kept secret. He said the organization would operate under a new secret code system. At the end of January 1967 DePugh pleaded nolo contendere on a separate charge – that he violated another Federal law by transporting a revolver from Iowa to Kansas City while under indictment for another offense. The court told him that his plea . . . would be treated as a plea of guilty and that there would be no appeal. DePugh was sentenced to a year in prison – the sentence not to begin until his appeal on the other conviction was decided. The court said that whenever a decision was made on the appeal it would have no effect on the one-year sentence." (Ref. 7, pp. 46-47) In February 1967 DePugh and Peyson filed appeals of their convictions for violating the Firearms Act and for conspiracy in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis; in July 1967 DePugh was still free on appeal bond. (Ref. 8) Meanwhile, on October 30, 1966 "twenty alleged Minutemen [were rounded up] in New York's Borough of Queens on charges that they were planning to bomb three camps in upstate New York, which they

reportedly believed were gathering places for leftist elements and pacifist sympathizers." (Ref. 7, p. 47) These arrests "climaxed a ten-month investigation. Police seized arsenals that included mortars, bazookas, machineguns, semiautomatic rifles, home-made bombs, more than a million rounds of ammunition, machetes, crossboys, and garroting nooses . . . . Among activities which the police [claimed to have observed] were: Efforts by Minutemen to infiltrate the reserve unit of the Army's 11th Special Forces – the 'Green Berets' – to learn guerrilla tactics; field maneuvers to perfect command tactics and to test home-made bombs; [and] efforts to stir up racial discord by furtively distributing racist literature which appeared to be the work of Negro extremists." (Ref. 1, p. 29)

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

"The Communist movement in the United States goes back to 1919, when two left-wing groups seceded from the Socialist Party to form the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. There were few differences between the programs of the two new parties, but several years elapsed before they were brought together. Federal and state anti-Red activities forced the Communist parties under cover at first. A secret United Communist Party was formed in 1920, but it failed to command the support of more than a fraction of the original Communist Party, which maintained a separate existence until 1923. By the end of 1922, however, the Workers' Party, founded in the open a year earlier, had succeeded in uniting most of the members of the two original parties and most of the numerous minor Communist organizations. The Workers' Party, known by that designation until it dropped the euphemism about a decade after its founding, was the American section of the Communist International. It sent delegates to the Comintern congresses and received financial grants from Moscow. Though a surface unity had been established, the party was constantly torn by factionalism. Its leaders were always vying with one another for the favor of Moscow. The extent of their subjection to Comintern control was illustrated in 1929 when Jay Lovestone, after being elected secretary by an all but unanimous convention vote, was promptly unseated and expelled from the party because Moscow charged him with heresy and demanded the election of William Z. Foster. In 1930 Foster himself had to give way to [Earl] Browder and wait 15 years for the latter's downfall and his own return to power. Benjamin Gitlow, another of the party hierarchy, was expelled along with Lovestone. Although he then helped to form the separate group called Lovestoneites, Gitlow eventually renounced Communism altogether . . . .

"Throughout the life of the American party its subservience to Moscow has been made plain by its slavish adherence to the party line, which has shifted according to the current interests of the Soviet Union. Up to 1935 there were only comparatively minor changes; the ultimate aim of world revolution was stressed and then soft-pedaled but not lost to view. But in 1935, when the Nazi menace to Russia had become clear, the party line underwent a major alteration. The Comintern congress of that year adopted a resolution ordering its national sections to cooperate with all groups opposed to war and Fascism. The period during which Communists everywhere made common cause with the democracies lasted until the eve of the war, when it was brought to an abrupt end by Stalin's pact with Hitler. American Communists, like those elsewhere, then denounced the war as an imperialist struggle and kept up that line until the Nazis attacked Russia. The renewed policy of a united front with the democracies endured only as long as a military exigency required. For the attack on Browder in 1945 heralded the adoption of a new party line that [seemed] to fall midway between the old revolutionary line and the united front policy." (Ref. 1, pp. 788-790) The Communist Party has supported Russia in the Sino-Soviet rift, and in consequence, in 1964, some members resigned or were expelled from the party and began to form new pro-Chinese Marxist groups. These splinter groups reject peaceful coexistence between Communism and capitalism, and advocate revolutionary violence.

"Since the days of Whittaker Chambers' confessions and Alger Hiss's trial much has been said and written about the infiltration of American Communists into the Roosevelt administration. Very probably the extent of that infiltration has been exaggerated, though there can be little doubt that Communist spies and agents found their way into the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services, and the Treasury Department. What needs to be stressed, however, is that Stalinist access to government offices was immeasurably eased by the almost universal American infatuation with all things Russian . . . . The admiration once felt for the Soviet Union by men like

Edmund Wilson and John Dos Passos had in part been a projection of their rebelliousness against what they perceived to be the injustice, the inequality, and the competitiveness of American society. The Russia they wrote about was largely an image of their desire, a symbol of their own revolt – even then, to be sure, a poorly chosen symbol but at least one that related to essentially libertarian impulses. But for the wartime admirers of the Soviet Union it frequently served less as a 'counter-image' to American society than as the ultimate embodiment of values they admired in industrialism and capitalism. What impressed these 'totalitarian liberals,' as Dwight Macdonald would later call them, was primarily the fact of power. Many of them were not really concerned with the question of whether Russia was a more humane or fraternal or just society than America; if pressed hard, they might often admit that it was not; but what they so admired was that Russia was efficient, a society in which 'things got done' . . . . It would be foolish and unjust to deny that much generous idealism, much genuine revulsion against the horrors of Hitlerism, contributed toward the pro-Russian sentiments of the war years. Yet it would be foolish and unjust to refrain from observing that during these years there also occurred an atrophy of moral sensibility among many American liberals. For Stalinism this was an ideal culture in which to breed, and for the wartime Browderite policy it provided a persuasive rationale. Only when the realities of power began to emerge after the victory of the Allies did the whole structure of deception – sentimentality about Russia, political advantages won by the American Communists, Browder's perspective of 'national unity' – crumble into dust." (Ref. 2, pp. 434-436)

Techniques of Infiltration. "One of the 21 points of the basic program approved by the Communist International in 1920 directed national Communist parties 'to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, cooperatives, and other organizations of working masses' and thus 'win over labor unions to Communism.' Such work was started in the United States in the 1920s, by Foster, Browder, and others working through the Trade Union Educational League, first of the Communist front organizations, and through other groups. Gains made at that time were only temporary. Infiltration in the needle trades in New York was checkmated. John L. Lewis successfully resisted a determined effort to capture the United Mine Workers. Other unions expelled Communist borers-from-within . . . . The American Federation of Labor continued on the alert against Communist inroads, so much so that its international unions [were] kept free of Communist influence . . . . The situation in the C. I. O. [was] different." (Ref. 1, p. 794) "Whereever the Stalinists won control of a C. I. O. union or local, they showed particular talents for harassing and disintegrating opposition groups . . . . Because they politicized issues, it was necessary to meet [the Communists] on political grounds; because they manipulated democratic procedures, it was necessary to mobilize democratic sentiments against them. In some unions, such as steel, the Murray leadership managed to squash the Communists before they could settle into the ranks; but in unions like the [United Auto Workers] the struggle against Stalinism became a prolonged exercise in political education . . . .

"By the summer of 1939, just before the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Communists had established themselves as one of the important blocs within the C. I. O. Their agents were firmly planted in the C. I. O. national office; they had taken full control over a number of important unions and had established strong bases in other unions. By the summer of 1939, the Communist Party had become an important, if not yet a major, force in American political life. At the tenth CP convention, in 1938, the membership was announced as 75,000. In 1939 the party claimed to have reached 100,000 though there is internal evidence to suggest that this figure was exaggerated. It is possible, however, that between 80,000 and 90,000 people were in the party at one time or

another during 1939. The core of moderately active members probably never went above 50,000 and the rate of turnover was enormous . . . . Yet there can be no doubt that the CP had taken some major steps toward becoming a 'mass organization' and that it was now a powerful force in the C.I.O., the youth movement, the intellectual world, and in a few large cities." (Ref. 2, pp. 382-386) "Directly after the war, approximately one fourth of the total C.I.O. membership was enrolled in unions controlled by the Communists . . . . The first major defeat suffered by the Communists in the C.I.O. . . . came as the result of a genuine rank-and-file upsurge within the United Auto Workers, one of the most democratic and progressive unions in the country . . . . In 1946 Reuther defeated Thomas for the U.A.W. presidency; in 1947 the Reuther group took control of the union Executive Board. What made this event particularly significant was that the Communists were beaten in fair combat by a progressive and democratic group . . . . In May, 1949, the C.I.O. Executive Board passed a motion that 'All members of the Board who are unwilling to enforce the Constitution and carry out the instructions of the Convention . . . are called upon to resign.' Four months later the United Electrical Workers, still the bulwark of Stalinism in the C.I.O., declared itself openly defiant. In November, it was expelled and the C.I.O. constitution was amended to permit the Executive Board, by a two-thirds vote, to remove from the C.I.O. any union that consistently worked in behalf of 'a totalitarian movement' . . . . By March 1950, every CP-dominated union in the C.I.O. was expelled." (Ref. 2, pp. 457-467)

"The Communist front organization has been a favorite device for developing group support for policies or projects which the party desires to foster. By giving such organizations high-sounding names and objectives, placing them under the sponsorship of prominent but unsuspecting citizens, and concealing their communist affiliation, the party had been able to build up publicity and propaganda agencies through which to exert an influence on public opinion and on executive policy or legislative action." (Ref. 1, p. 791)

Post-War History. "With a last frantic surge of energy, the Communists tried in 1948 to re-enter American political life as a force that might affect, if not determine, crucial elements of foreign policy. They had no illusions that the presidential campaign for Henry Wallace, of which they were the dominant engineers, could possibly succeed; but they believed, plausibly enough, that if Wallace were to receive five million votes, this would constitute a significant check to the Truman foreign policy and, in particular, the Marshall Plan . . . . Once the elections were over, the Communists could not help being disappointed. Wallace had polled only a little more than 1 million votes . . . . Once it grew clear that Communist influence in the C.I.O. was at an end and that the Wallace campaign would not lead to a lasting alliance of 'progressives,' the party prepared to entrench itself for a long siege. Convinced that fascism was conquering the nation and plagued by platoons of secret agents sent into the party by the F.B.I., the leadership began to make serious preparations for going underground. By 1950-51, when the party membership had fallen below 40,000, the National Committee instructed local party bodies to send a third of their leading personnel into hiding, so that a reservoir of experienced comrades would be available for underground work . . . . The main blows against the Communists were struck by the government in a series of trials charging party leaders with violation of the Smith Act [which had defined it as a crime "to teach and advocate the ovethrow of the United States government by force and violence"]. The first of these trials, which began in January 1949 and lasted through October, was directed against the twelve members of the CP National Board (though Foster, because of a serious heart ailment, was never brought to court). . . . So loosely worded was the Smith Act, and so loosely worded the indictment based upon it,

that in the atmosphere of 1949 the conviction of the Communists was almost a foregone conclusion." (Ref. 2, pp. 469-481) The Supreme Court subsequently reversed the decisions of several of the court findings. "The Smith Act, the Supreme Court said, does not punish mere 'theoretical advocacy' of the Government's overthrow as 'an abstract doctrine'; it covers only speech that is 'incitement.' Nevertheless, the act [remained] a sword dangling over the head of any active party leader or member as the court's decision [on June 5, 1961 re-emphasized] . . . . The court [on that date in a 5-4 decision] upheld for the first time the so-called membership clause of the Smith Act of 1940. This provision, as construed by the court, makes it a crime to be a knowing, active, purposeful member of a group advocating the violent overthrow of the Government. The court affirmed the conviction of a former Communist leader under this clause. And the court [on the same date] . . . sustained the registration features of the Internal Security Act of 1950. This decision [meant] that the Communist party must file a statement with the Government registering as a 'communist-action organization' and listing all its members and officers." (Ref. 3, Sect. 4, p. 8) "But the court did not uphold the constitutionality of all aspects of the statute against all legal attacks. And the limited scope of the court's holding - the things it did not say - [underlay] much of the uncertaintly and confusion about . . . [subsequent] enforcement efforts." (Ref. 4, Sect. 4, p. 6) The deadline for registration by the officers of the Communist party was November 30, 1961. By that date, the officers still had not registered and had cut its national leadership to three officers in an apparent attempt to limit personnel risks as the Department of Justice prepared to prosecute the party for failure to register as an arm of the Soviet Union. On March 15, 1962, Gus Hall, general secretary of the party, and Benjamin J. Davis, the party's national secretary, were arrested by the Justice Department for refusing to register the party with the department. The party was convicted of the charges and fined $120,000 by a federal court in Washington on December 11th. On December 17, 1963, the U.S. Court of Appeals, in Washington, D.C., reversed the conviction. The court ruled that no person can be made to incriminate himself by being forced to register his association with a party that has been declared a criminal organization. On November 15, 1965, the Supreme Court, in an 8-0 decision, ruled that individuals may invoke their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination and refuse to register with the Government as members of the Communist Party. Such mandatory registration by individuals would expose them to prosecution under other Federal laws "in an area permeated with criminal statutes," it said. "The opinion stopped short of declaring the registration provision unconstitutional because a party member could waive his self-incrimination privilege and register. But its obvious effect will be to make the registration requirement unenforceable . . . . Although the opinion did not directly concern the alternate provision of the act that requires the party itself to register and list its membership, it seemed to leave that section hanging by a thread. Presumably, if party officers register the party or authorize others to do so, they would forgo the same self-incrimination rights involved in [the Supreme Court] decision." (Ref. 5, p. 1)

"Above ground, there is little . . . left of the Communist Party these days. The party itself estimated its membership at 10,000 [in June 1961, and at 12,000 in 1969]. It still has the minimum necessity of being - a listing in the telephone book - for its office . . . [in] Manhattan. It has officers . . . and it publishes a slim [bi-weekly] newspaper, The Worker. . . . All in all, the party's overt activities have neared the vanishing point . . . . But what it does below ground is another matter - and a matter of some debate. In March [1961], J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, told a House subcommittee: 'As the largest single subversive organization in the United States, the Communist Party U.S.A. represents a formidable core of conspiratorial Reds.' Mr. Hoover said the party had 'stepped up its activities among

youth,' and he mentioned as an example the San Francisco riots over the House Committee on Un-American Activities [in 1960]. He said the Communists had also 'infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity: youth groups, radio, television, and motion picture industries; church, school, educational and cultural groups; the press; nationality minority groups and civil and political units' . . . . On the other hand, some persons think 'shattered, broken and threadbare' is a fair description of the party. Not that observers question the desire of dedicated Communists to infiltrate, propagandize and generally do the work of the Soviet Union. But the feeling is that the number of the dedicated has been steadily falling and their effectiveness swiftly diminishing." (Ref. 3, Sect. 4, p. 8)

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PREPARE THE MAN

LESSON PLAN

3AZR81271

Technical Training

14-2

Social Problems of Police Administration

22 October 1975

USAF School of Applied Aerospace Sciences
USAF Security Police Academy
Lackland Air Force Base, Texas

Designed For ATC Course Use

DO NOT USE ON-THE JOB

MODIFICATIONS

Page 1 of this publication has (have) been deleted in adapting this material for inclusion in the "Trial Implementation of a Model System to Provide Military Curriculum Materials for Use in Vocational and Technical Education." Deleted material involves extensive use of military forms, procedures, systems, etc. and was not considered appropriate for use in vocational and technical education.

PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (5 Minutes)

Introduce your subject by explaining the reasoning for the Personal Perception Exercise and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that this lesson provides the students with information involving the problem of the "Communications Gap".

BODY (1 Hour 50 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. Given a listing of present day issues and confrontations, disturbances and disorders, express in writing a personal attitude toward these issues and present a brief resume of comments.

1. Answer and discuss the first four questions in the Personal Perception Exercise.

APPLICATION:

1. Have the students present their personal impressions of the following, using the Personal Perception Exercise:

   a. Students demonstrating on college campuses.

   b. Racial minorities demanding civil rights.

   c. Anti-war groups burning the US Flag.

   d. Hippies.

   e. Handling dissenters at your home station/base.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

CONCLUSION (5 Minutes)

Reemphasize the student's personal impressions and present your own interpretation of the solutions. Answer any questions the students may have.

PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (10 Minutes)

Introduce your subject and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that these lessons provide the student with an understanding of why and when others act and react to given situations. The student must have a clear understanding of himself and then will be better equipped to perform his assigned mission.

BODY (8 Hours 35 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. Presented situations illustrating social science concepts/theories, determine which concept or theory is illustrated and how it affects duty performance.

1. Discuss various Social Science Concepts to include:

a. Universalism.

b. Particularism.

c. Self-Fulfilling Prophesy.

d. Ethnocentrism.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students relate application of concepts to normal duty performance by responding to given situations.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objectives.

PRESENTATION:

II. Given situations illustrating reaction to frustrations, determine the effect of reaction to frustration while performing police duty.

1. Discuss various types of frustrations to include:

a. Emotionality.

b. Increase strength of motives.

c. Apathetic responses.

d. Variety of responses.

e. Aggression.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students determine the effect of responding to frustrations to their duty performances by responding to given situations.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objectives.

III. Given situations illustrating the use of defense mechanisms, identify the effect of defense mechanisms while performing police duty.

1. Discuss defense mechanisms to include:

a. Rationalization.

b. Reaction Formation.

c. Compensation.

d. Fantasy.

e. Projection

f. Identification.

g. Displacement.

h. Regression.

i. Repression.

APPLICATION:

1. Have the students identify defense mechanisms by responding to given situations that might alter a course of events.

EVALUATION

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

PRESENTATION:

IV. Presented situations illustrating problem areas in interpersonal communications, identify the areas that prevent group cohesiveness.

1. Introduce, show and critique the following films: "Battle of E. St. Louis," and "Tough Mind & Supervision".

a. Discuss the issue and characters of the film.

b. Discuss problem areas involved in interpersonal communications.

2. Discuss the art of listening.

a. As applicable to supervisors.

b. For better receptiveness by subordinates.

c. Administer "Rating Life Change" chart.

(1) Read Dr. Holmes' Report.

(2) Discuss the point system.

3. Discuss the art of speaking.

a. Establishing Rapport.

b. Trigger Words.

c. Body Actions.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students participate in taking the "Ghetto" Test to promote discussion, and identify problem areas that prevent effective group cohesiveness.

EVALUATION:

1. Critique the Ghetto Test and evaluate each student's achievement of the objective.

PRESENTATION:

V. Presented situations characterizing the three basic stereotypes that influence personal behavior, identify each stereotype characterized.

1. Define the word stereotype.

2. Explain the effect of stereotyping on:

   a. Blacks

   b. Mexicans

   c. Indians

   d. Jews

   e. New arrivals to a unit

   f. Geographical location

3. Explain the purpose of the Rigidity Test.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students complete the Rigidity Test.

2. Use test results to assign students into three groups.

3. Have the high and low groups participate in the Five Square Exercise, contained in the SW, with the middle group evaluating the responses.

EVALUATION:

1. Student evaluators will identify what they observed and explain to the student the:

   a. Grouping system

   b. Expected outcome/reactions

   c. Effect on patrol duty.

CONCLUSION (15 Minutes)

Reemphasize the main points of the lessons on Social Science Concepts, Frustrations, Defense Mechanisms, Interpersonal Communications and Stereotypes. Answer any questions the students may have. Identify assigned study material and give cause for the student to study assignment.

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PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (15 Minutes)

Introduce your subject and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that this lesson provides the student with information on how disastrous prejudice and discrimination are to professional and successful fulfillment of security police duties.

BODY (5 Hours 30 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. Presented situations illustrating problems involving prejudice and discrimination which prevent effective race relationship, identify the problem area.

1. Using transparencies, define and discuss prejudice.

2. Introduce and show film: AFIF 240, The Prejudice Film.

3. Discuss the issues presented in the film.

4. Using transparencies, define discrimination.

5. Discuss Myrdal's Rank of Order of Discrimination.

APPLICATION:

1. Lead students in a discussion concerning the issues presented.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's response during the discussion to insure the criterion objective is met.

PRESENTATION:

II. Given a listing of specific behavior patterns of minority groups, identify the minority group of which they are characteristic.

1. Introduce and show film "Heritage in Black".

2. Discuss behavior patterns of minority groups.

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APPLICATION:

1. Have the students identify behavior patterns of specific minority groups by responding to a given list of patterns and groups.

EVALUATION:

1. Using the students response as a guide, evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

PRESENTATION:

III. Presented situations illustrating police/community relations, identify those programs most likely to succeed.

1. Discuss Police/Community Relations:

   a. At the Main Gate

   b. At Pass and Registration

   c. Base Information Officer

   d. Showing Parking Places

   e. Appearance

   f. Anyone for Handouts

   g. Sermons

   h. Dog Demonstrations

   i. Good for Goose/Gander

   j. Speaker's Bureau

   k. Telephone

   l. Recognition and Reward

APPLICATION:

1. Have the students identify problem areas that prevent effective community relations.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

CONCLUSION (15 Minutes)

Reemphasize the main points, clearing up any questions that the students may have. Assign appropriate homework assignment.

PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (10 Minutes)

Introduce your subject and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that this lesson provides the student with information regarding the misconceptions created by the assembly of people in a group.

BODY (2 Hours 40 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. Given situations illustrating the activities of several types of crowds, identify each type of crowd.

1. Define a crowd and discuss:

   a. The characteristics of a crowd.

   b. A casual or physical crowd.

   c. Conventional or cohesive crowd.

   d. Expressive or revelous crowd.

   e. Hostile or aggressive crowd.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students identify the various types of crowds to include their characteristics.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

PRESENTATION:

II. Presented descriptive actions of unruly crowds, identify the behavior dynamics associated with each crowd.

1. Define the term "Behavior Dynamics in Unruly Crowds."

2. Discuss the behavior dynamics associated with unruly crowds.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students identify the behavior dynamics in unruly crowds.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

PRESENTATION:

III. Presented situations illustrating the activities of mob leaders, identify the tactics and techniques used to transform crowds into mobs.

1. Define a Mob and discuss:

a. Personality Types in Mobs

(1) Leaders

(a) Dominant

(b) Persuasive

(c) Opportunist

(2) Criminal Element

(3) Psychopathic Individual

(4) Psychology of the Mob

(5) Inciting a Mob

(a) Slogan

(b) Triggering the Mob

(6) Mob's Tactics and Violence

APPLICATION:

1. Have each student identify the various personality types in mobs.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the objective.

PRESENTATION:

IV. Given situations illustrating mob activities, identify the activities which were preplanned.

1. Introduce and show film "Battle of Chicago", and "The Whole World is Watching."

2. Lead a discussion into the issues created by the film.

APPLICATION:

1. Have students identify the activities of a mob that were preplanned.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

CONCLUSION (10 Minutes)

Reemphasize the main points of the lesson on crowds and mobs, clearing up any questions that the students may have. Assign appropriate homework assignment pertaining to student reports.

PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (10 Minutes)

Introduce your subject and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that this lesson will provide them with information on actual situations of unrest on military installations and vessels which caused riots and personal and property damage. Additional important data on police over-reaction will be emphasized.

BODY (2 Hours 40 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. Given reports that describe actual disorders, identify the limitations and restrictions imposed on law enforcement officials performing civil disturbance duties.

1. Discuss After-Action Reports from:

a. Travis AFB.

b. Sheppard AFB.

c. Keesler AFB.

d. Laredo AFB.

APPLICATION:

1. Have the students relate their personal experiences to the After Action Reports material presented.

EVALUATION:

1. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

CONCLUSION (10 Minutes)

Reemphasize the main points of the lesson, answer questions the students may have. Assign appropriate homework assignment.

PART II - TEACHING GUIDE

INTRODUCTION (10 Minutes)

Introduce your subject and let the students know what is expected of them. Explain that this lesson is a culmination of all that has previously been taught.

BODY (3 Hours 40 Minutes)

PRESENTATION:

I. When assigned a project covering racial groups, ethnic groups, established organizations, disturbances and disorders, prepare and present a briefing validating the findings.

1. Summarize the previous lessons.

2. Have students explain their projects to the class.

3. Discuss problem situations.

APPLICATION:

1. Students will give a briefing on their assigned project.

EVALUATION:

1. Critique each project paper. Evaluate each student's achievement of the criterion objective.

CONCLUSION (10 Minutes)

Administer critique sheets and graduate and dismiss class.

END OF DAY SUMMARY

Summary

1. Restate objectives of the lesson.
2. Emphasize the areas of major importance.
3. Use oral questions to determine areas to be retaught.

Assignment

1. Identify study material.
2. Give cause for student to study assignment.
3. Mention method of study.

INTRODUCTION TO NEW DAY'S WORK

1. Check on accomplishment of CTT or other assignment.
2. Arouse student interest (Attention and Motivation).
3. Review items of major importance. (Review)
4. State objectives to be covered on this particular day. (Overview)
5. Continue presentation beginning where it ended the previous day.

102

Technical Training

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RIOT CONTROL

14-2

January 1974

USAF SCHOOL OF APPLIED AEROSPACE SCIENCES
Department of Security Police Training
Lackland Air Force Base, Texas

Designed For ATC Course Use

DO NOT USE ON THE JOB

PURPOSE OF STUDY GUIDES AND WORKBOOKS

Study Guides and Workbooks are training publications authorized by Air Training Command (ATC) for student use in ATC courses.

The STUDY GUIDE (SG) presents the information you need to complete the unit of instruction or makes assignments for you to read in other publications which contain the required information.

The WORKBOOK (WB) contains work procedures designed to help you achieve the learning objectives of the unit of instruction. Knowledge acquired from using the study guide will help you perform the missions or exercises, solve the problems, or answer questions presented in the workbook.

The STUDY GUIDE AND WORKBOOK (SW) contains both SG and WB material under one cover. The two training publications may be combined when the WB is not designed for you to write in, or when both SG and WB are issued for you to keep.

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MODIFICATIONS

1-1 - 1-3 of this publication has (have) been deleted in adapting this material for inclusion in the "Trial Implementation of a Model System to Provide Military Curriculum Materials for Use in Vocational and Technical Education." Deleted material involves extensive use of military forms, procedures, systems, etc. and was not considered appropriate for use in vocational and technical education.

Security Police Training Branch
Lackland AFB, Texas

SW 3AZR81271–2
7 January 1974

PERSONAL PERCEPTION

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this unit of instruction you will:

- Present a brief resume of your background and express your personal opinion of recent controversial matters.

INTRODUCTION

One of the social problems we hear so much about today is the so-called "Generation Gap." Many people, however, believe the problems should more accurately be labeled the "Communications Gap." Youth is talking to age, but age isn't listening. Black Americans are talking to White Americans and they don't understand. The governed speak to the government and it sometimes falls on deaf ears.

INFORMATION

PERSONAL PERCEPTION EXERCISE

This period of instruction is devoted to the establishment of rapport between you, your classmates, and the instructor. You have some very definite opinions about most of the controversial issues of today. We want to know what your feelings are! You will be asked to complete a Personal Perception Checklist that will be given you by your instructor. Afterwards you will devote a few minutes to discussing your comments. Be frank! Say what you think! Some of your classmates may not agree with you. This is fine – it's expected! Remember, to be successful the course depends on the exchange of free expressions and opinions. The only way we can enjoy a sense of academic freedom and discuss our real feelings is to be honest with each other.

ASSIGNMENT OF SPECIAL PROJECTS

When you have completed your personal perception exercise you will be assigned a special project in the area of confrontations, disturbances, or disorders. This project will require continuous research and devotion throughout the course; it will include the preparation of a paper on your subject and presentation of a briefing expressing your solutions to those problem areas that affect your project. In addition to the text books provided, a supplementary reading list and material are provided to assist you in researching material

Supersedes SG/WB KT102, June 1974.

for your project. All of these books are located in the base library (Bldg 6114) and the Department of Security Police Training Learning Resource Center (Room 110, Bldg 7348), and are highly recommended in support of your project.

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Security Police Training Branch
Lackland AFB, Texas

SW 3AZR81271–3
7 January 1974

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS AND THEORY

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this unit of instruction you will be able to:

- Determine which social science concepts affect duty performance.
- Determine the effects of reactions to frustrations to duty performance.
- Identify defense mechanisms and how they are used to solve confrontations.
- Identify problem areas in interpersonal communication and how those problem areas prevent effective group cohesiveness.
- Identify the three basic stereotypes.

INTRODUCTION

Personnel acting in a "police capacity" must be flexible and capable of handling various situations at all times. In order to develop this ability you must understand why and when others act and react to given situations. This can only be achieved by having a clear understanding of yourself—there is no short cut! Once you know yourself you will be better equipped to perform your assigned mission.

INFORMATION

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS AND THEORY

Man—unlike the animals that roam the hill country and desert—must live with "himself." Each of us has a need for success and must achieve it in our own particular way. Before we can discuss why we are what we are, an examination of the four major social science concepts—Universalism, Particularism, Self-Fulfilling Prophecy and Ethnocentrism—is in order.

Universalism

Universalism is the relationship of one person to another person in a situation in terms of *generalized standards of behavior* rather than in terms of any special relationship that

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may exist between them. If such a relationship does in fact exist in a situation defined as "properly universalistic," the relationship must be ignored. For example, a commander who administers an Article 15 to an airman in his squadron for being AWOL and that airman is the commander's son, universalism would require that commander to ignore the father/son relationship. In other words we can say that universalism is the treatment of *all* people by the same *standard*.

Particularism

Particularism is the relationship of one individual to another individual in terms of the *special nature of their relationship* to each other rather than in terms of abstract standards of behavior. For example, suppose our commander friend restricts his son to the base for 60 days while at the same time he levies a fine of $50 on the airman who went AWOL with his son. Therefore, we can say that particularism is the treatment of *different* people by a *different* set of rules.

Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Self-Fulfilling Prophecy is the *false* definition of a situation or belief, which, because one believes and one acts upon it, actually manifests itself as a truth, further strengthening the belief. As an example, the son knew his father would not take harsh action against him and so decided to absent himself along with his friend.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the attitude of regarding one's own group as inherently superior. This attitude judges others in terms of its own standards, and since others are of course, different, they are held to be inferior. Ethnocentrism reflects an inability to appreciate the viewpoint of others who have, for example, a different morality, religion, or language. It expresses an unwillingness or inability to see a common humanity, condition, and problem facing all men. Let's look at another example. A commander of a security police squadron would, in all probability, require a higher degree of standards in appearance and performance from his men than any other unit commander, because more is expected of security policemen. The squadron may then reflect this ethnocentric attitude in its dealing with other units and consciously or unconsciously consider other base personnel as less important to the Air Force mission.

FRUSTRATIONS

Frustrations are a part of everyday living. The only problem at hand, then, is to acknowledge their presence and counteract the results, if possible, by responding and adjusting to life. When we speak of frustrations we are talking of the prevention or obstruction of an individual's attempts to satisfy his needs or desires in relationship to the complex social environment to which the individual is tied. The capacity of an individual to withstand frustration (and anxiety) without developing maladaptive behavior is known as *frustration-tolerance*. If one cannot adjust to the situation or one has reached his "tolerance point,"

reactions to frustration will appear in a variety of forms and primarily include (1) emotionality; (2) increased strength of motives; (3) apathetic responses; (4) variety of responses; and (5) aggression. Before we discuss these reactions let us insure we have a common core of understanding of what these reactions involve. First, let's briefly outline those reactions that have a direct influence on frustration and then mention other reaction impulses that contribute to frustration.

Direct Reactions to Frustration

EMOTIONALITY. When an individual's motive or desire is blocked and/or altered, he will probably become emotional. He may become angry (or depending on his state of mind—mad and uncontrollable), or he may elect to cry, etc., or withdraw himself from other people.

INCREASED STRENGTH OF MOTIVES. It is possible for a person to "redouble" his efforts to get ahead by attempting to succeed if his motive or desire is blocked. This is the first evidence of frustration-tolerance which normally indicates that some individuals learn, through reinforced experience, that persistence and motivation pays off.

APATHETIC RESPONSES. This is characteristic among inmates of prisons, concentration camps, prisoners of war and subsequent generation residents of urban ghettos. These groups are indifferent to a given situation because all attempts to combat frustration have been previously thwarted and hence extinguished.

VARIETY OF RESPONSES. In this situation we expand on the *frustration-tolerance* concept and introduce *detour behavior.* This is the trial-and-error approach to an old problem or the trying of new approaches promoted by learning. *Detour behavior* may even lead to a secondary goal that, in the long run, is just as satisfactory as the original one.

AGGRESSION. When the situation offers an angry impulse we have an act of aggression. It is intended to do harm to someone or something. However, this impulse does not necessarily lead to an overt behavior pattern and can take on any degree of response. For example, the *frustration-aggression hypothesis* theory concerns a person who is frustrated—blocked from achieving a desired goal—and becomes aggressive. He cannot retaliate (because he doesn't know the source of his frustrations, out of fear of the consequences, or the like) and will, in all probability, direct his aggression towards someone or something less threatening to himself. With this in mind, *aggression displaced (displacement)* is not directed towards the source of the individual's frustration either because he is unaware of the source or because the source is unaccessible or too threatening. In all probability he will direct his aggression to another person or object. Accordingly then, *aggression, free floating,* is unrecognized by the individual and is not limited to any specific object or objects. It is ever present in the individual, ready at any time to be directed at a new object.

Other Reactions to Frustration

Up to now we have discussed only those responses that have a direct bearing on frustration. There are other responses that are used which are most likely to occur when neither of the direct reactions will solve the problem. These responses are known as *defense mechanisms* and will be discussed after we briefly deal with conflicts and the way conflicting habits, cognitions and motives can produce tension and reactions to frustration. Our daily work and social habits, coupled with our thoughts, beliefs, and desires to achieve a goal, and the fear of failing in that goal, have a direct impact on the social structure and our response to that structure. Confrontations lead to conflict and frustration, which is normally followed by *defensive reactions to frustration and conflict.*

DEFENSE MECHANISMS

When faced with conflict a person may choose one alternative and ignore another. He may compromise or withdraw entirely, he may do nothing, or he may select several alternatives using a variety of approaches. Basically, defense mechanisms take on the form of (1) rationalization; (2) reaction formation; (3) compensation; (4) fantasy; (5) projection; (6) identification; (7) displacement; (8) regressive responses, and (9) repression of the entire conflict, and are the "sword" by which our battles are lost or won. Let's discuss briefly each of these defenses.

Rationalization

This mechanism is the act of finding a good reason for "doing or not doing" instead of admitting the real facts. It is the interpretation of your own behavior in a way that is more acceptable to yourself.

Reaction Formation

When we have conflicting motives, that is, building up one desire to hide or contain another, our response is often contrary to the basic motive and thus we have reaction formation.

Compensation

Compensation can be direct or indirect and is the overemphasis of one type of behavior in order to cover up deficiencies in other areas.

Fantasy

Daydreaming is often used as an "out" from reality to evade conflict or frustration.

Projection

If we see in others those motives that we unconsciously fear we possess, we are projecting. It's the shifting of guilt or blame from ourselves to someone or something else as a way of justifying our own behavior.

Identification

Frustration and conflicting feelings will sometimes result in our taking on the identity of the powerful and frustrating individual who brings on the condition.

Displacement

Displacement is the indirect or misdirected response of aggression. This area also introduces "scapegoating" which may be regarded as an indirect expression of aggression.

Regression

Regression is the form of psychological adjustment to anxiety and conflict in which an individual retreats to an earlier, less mature and adequate, but seemingly more secure pattern of behavior. Regression is the reoccurrence of behavior which proved satisfying in earlier stages of development.

Repression

Repression is the process of excluding from consciousness a thought or feeling that causes pain, shame, or guilt. It is important to note that *repression is not forgetting.*

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

We mentioned earlier that habits, thoughts, beliefs, and desires have a direct bearing on our position. These activities are reflected in the communication process that we will discuss, and ultimately their use will determine the degree of impact they have on a given situation. Four commonly accepted communicative skills are reading, writing, listening and speaking. However, our position—unique as it is—introduces yet another skill. Police actions (bodily actions) undoubtedly communicate a message that registers either as positive or negative responses. For our purposes, we will only be concerned with three skills—listening, speaking and bodily actions.

Failure to listen, to say what you mean, and bodily actions are some of the major causes which create unnecessary confrontations and contribute to deteriorating, very much so, those confrontations at hand.

Thus, we have identified the disease and introduced the medicine needed for cure. What we now must do is learn to prescribe and administer the proper dosage for each and

every situation. An over or under dose will not suffice and may result in the same misfortune as applying no medicine at all.

Listening

When you communicate, one thing must stand out above everything else. People are "human beings" FIRST, and security policemen, commanders, and the like SECOND. You cannot expect or demand that "we" as professionals, do not possess the same personal problems, conflict and frustrations as the individual(s) we confront on a day-to-day basis. To effectively handle any confronting situation, we—as commanders, supervisors, or security policemen—must first lessen our own frustration and anxiety through proper and comprehensive listening. You and yours will profit greatly if you search out and allow your personnel to air their problems on a continuing basis.

To be effective, listening must contain three basic, but very important, principles. Proper attitude and the DOs and DON'Ts.

ATTITUDE. A proper attitude is an acceptant attitude, that is to say, don't close your mind to what is being communicated, and above all, believe in the communicator's ability to solve his own problem.

DOs. When listening be honest. *Help* people talk and diagnose their own feelings, *boast* exploratory courage and *achievement* of self-realization. Lastly, indicate your *understanding*, and if not, don't just let it hang in the air.

DON'Ts. Of all things, don't *give* advice, sympathy, or reassurance; *refrain* from interpreting what is really meant, or probing, ridiculing, and persuading someone they're wrong.

Speaking

The success of any communicative effort depends on whether the receiver responds in the way the sender had planned. Because everyone takes the ability to talk for granted, many consider its importance as unnecessary. However, to insure we say what we mean, certain concepts must be considered. For instance, what situation are we talking about? who are we talking to? what is his educational and social background?

The level and scope of the listener's knowledge has a direct bearing on your approach. A clear understanding of him will permit you to predict his reaction. In talking you must maintain directness, that is, talk to and with people, not simply at or in front of them. Maintain eye contact. Failure to do so indicates fear or timidity, and you will miss valuable guidance in predicting one's reaction. For example, eye contact will reveal signs of doubt, misunderstanding, or disagreement. You should capitalize on the opportunity to adjust at once to all reactions of your listener(s). This opportunity should be welcomed as a means of insuring understanding.

Sincerity plays an important part and reveals itself through enthusiasm, voice, action, and facial expressions. All of these are contagious qualities and go far toward winning a favorable response. On the other hand, an indifferent delivery carries no conviction. If you do not build confidence in the subject at hand, yourself, or in your relationship to the listener(s)—and if you are arrogant, patronizing, hostile, or fearful—your listener will more than likely reject your ideas no matter how worthwhile they may be.

Rightly or wrongly, your voice is an index to your characteristics—attitude, personality, traits, and physical condition—and is usually surprisingly accurate. The weak and apologetic voice connotes timidity, fear, superficiality, or other undesirable qualities. A loud and boisterous voice indicates a bully or a bluff. A voice should be free from distracting, unpleasant characteristics and if it's to hold attention, should be easily heard, pleasant, and characterized by variety in pitch, force and rate. Since all points are not equally important, you must learn to vary your speed, tone, pitch and loudness to hold interest and to lend emphasis to ideas that you wish to stress.

Up to now you may think everything we have mentioned is all well and good, but it doesn't apply to me. I know all those things you say. But knowing is not doing, and not doing results in confrontations, which leads to conflict, that expands into frustration, and explodes into disturbances and disorders. Isn't it a great feeling to know that your *single act* of "not doing" can lead to this?

Remember our previous mention of knowing the situation and the educational and social background of our listeners? As a professional, and as an individual for that matter, it is extremely important that you treat all people with respect—as you yourself would expect, *and demand,* to be treated in the same situation. For this reason you should know and understand the "target population" you are associated with. For example, if you are up-to-date with group jargon, you should know that it is perfectly proper for Italians, Mexicans, and Blacks to call their own "Wop, Wetback and Boy," but for an *outsider* (one of a different culture or race) to do so could turn a pleasant discussion into an explosive and complicated situation. A man wearing a "badge" or "bars" or "diamond" is sometimes considered as an outsider even if he is a member of the same cultural group.

Body Action

This includes gestures, facial expressions, movement from one place to another, posture, and the muscle tone of the body as a whole.

Exhibitory Action—contrived gestures and movements used for their own sake—can detract from what one has to say. Bodily action should arise from inner impulses, from the genuine desire to communicate with others. Do not rely on any rules for moving and gesturing. Follow two basic principles: coordinate bodily action and use the body to express animation.

COORDINATION. All parts of the body should be so well disciplined that they work together as a unit. To be effective you must learn to say what you want to say by using

the entire body to get the message across. Gestures should arise from a genuine impulse to clarify or to emphasize ideas. Above all, they should be unobtrusive, never drawing attention to themselves. In fact, any technique of "speech" that diverts attention from the central idea defeats the entire purpose of conversation.

ANIMATION. This quality, along with the voice, indicates an enthusiastic interest. Listeners are quick to sense the lack of thought or feeling beneath a listless delivery. Your action is of two types: overt and covert. Overt actions are the obvious, easily seen movements such as clenching the fist or waving the arm. Although covert actions are less obvious, they are more important because they tell a great deal about your attitude, muscle tone, and feelings. It is possible to use a studied overt movement but impossible to continue and assume deceptive covert actions. One who clenches his fist as he says, "If you believe in freedom, fight for it now!" may be quite convincing. However, if a false note in his overall bearing is detected, he may not be half so energetic as he pretends. Even a strong, seemingly appropriate gesture, cannot contradict a placid muscular tone. To be truly effective, overt and covert action must complement and reinforce one another. Gestures that are used deliberately for their own sake usually do not convince and are quickly detected as inconsistencies between overt and covert actions. Such inconsistencies will betray your real feelings. No action that you may plan and practice can keep your covert actions from revealing your emotional state and attitude toward yourself and others. Let's take, for example, a supervisor or first sergeant who boasts to an airman, waving a fist in his face, "I told you I'd get you one of these days!" or of the commander who grins while announcing squadron punishment. And, what of the security policeman who approaches a vehicle just stopped for a minor traffic violation with hands probing his club and weapon. The poor driver in the vehicle wonders if he is about to be beaten or shot or both.

The above examples are "negative physical communications" and have no place in your profession.

Still not convinced? Let's see how you fare in communicating with others. The exercise you are about to participate in will reflect your ability to communicate with others and maintain group cohesiveness.

STEREOTYPES

Stereotyping is the biased generalization, often exaggerated, inaccurate and oversimplified, of a group or category of people that is either favorable or unfavorable, but normally unfavorable. It is the tendency to categorize people and to generalize often beyond the facts and differs from other categorizing in that negative characteristics are emphasized; preconceived beliefs are often emotionally toned and not susceptible to modification through empirical evidence.

Stereotyping has three characteristics: (1) categorizing persons, (2) attributed traits, and (3) discrepancy between attributed traits and actual traits.

Categorizing People

People are normally categorized by certain traits such as age, sex, racial characteristics, group membership, society (occupational, church, or national affiliation), or even certain distinctive behavior patterns. For example, "all redheads have a temper," "all old people are eccentric," or "all Mormons live in Utah." In other words, a stereotype is a special form of categorizing all people with all the attributes belonging to that category—and membership is sufficient reason to pass judgment on all persons.

Consensus on Attributed Traits

Persons who have some form of common identification are thought to share certain attributes. For example, Americans are industrious; English are sportsmanlike; Germans are scientifically minded; Japanese are shrewd; and Chinese are shy.

Discrepancy Between Attributed and Actual Traits

Stereotypes are almost always thought of as being partly false. This sense of falsehood may be a result of an oversimplification of the true traits or the traits may have little value as far as facts are concerned. On the other hand, if the perceiver makes known what traits he believes are possessed by a member of a class of persons, and at the same time recognizes the existence of individual differences, then there is nothing necessarily inaccurate about his judgment.

RIGIDITY TEST AND FIVE-SQUARE EXERCISE

The series of exercises you are about to participate in will identify your flexibility of behavior patterns—to see how effectively you communicate with others and how you (or if you do) create confrontations that result in conflict and frustration for others. Additional guidance will be given you by the instructor at the appropriate time.

DO NOT PROCEED BEYOND THIS POINT UNTIL INSTRUCTED TO DO SO!

Rigidity Test

The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

+1	slight agreement	-1	slight disagreement
+2	moderate agreement	-2	moderate disagreement
+3	strong agreement	-3	strong disagreement

_____ 1. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

_____ 2. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

_____ 3. Governments and communities should not set up censorship boards which can ban movies on the grounds of immorality.

_____ 4. With our progress in education and communication, the people of this world are more sympathetic with each other's needs, problems, and aspirations than ever before in history.

_____ 5. A person should have a job that interests him and work at it for its own sake, without regard for the importance of the recognition it will bring.

_____ 6. All teachers and government workers should be required to sign loyalty oaths swearing that they are not Communists.

_____ 7. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough willpower.

_____ 8. The more intimately we get to know people we work with, the more we are likely to respect them.

_____ 9. It is difficult to believe that some people will go to heaven and others to hell.

_____ 10. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.

_____ 11. Capital punishment (the death penalty) should be abolished.

_____ 12. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas; but as they grow up, they ought to get over them and settle down.

_____ 13. If the Voice of America is going to do a proper job of competing with Soviet propaganda for the friendship of the uncommitted people of the world, it should avoid discussing such sore spots as the race question and concentrate on strong points such as our high standard of living.

_____ 14. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world, there is probably only one which is correct.

_____ 15. It is poor advice to tell a person who has a problem or worry that it is best not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.

_____ 16. It makes little sense to treat homosexuals like criminals who deserve to be punished.

_____ 17. Christmas or Hanukkah observance, Bible reading, or other religious activities should not take place in the public schools.

_____ 18. I believe that my confidence in my fellowman has been justified more often than not.

_____ 19. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children shou'd learn.

_____ 20. Marriages between Christians a..d Jews should be strongly discouraged.

_____ 21. I simply can't bring myself to condemn people just because they seem greatly concerned with their own well-being.

_____ 22. People who can afford to dress according to prevailing styles ought certainly to do so.

_____ 23. The necessity of appealing to masses of unthinking voters justifies the widespread tendency of political campaigners to oversimplify issues and emphasize personalities.

_____ 24. Artists and professors are just as important to society as businessmen and manufacturers, if not more so.

_____ 25. Most people don't realize how much of our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

_____ 26. A group which tolerates extreme differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.

_____ 27 Most people just don't know what's good for them.

_____ 28. I have so much trouble finding out what is or is not true that I can't understand how some people can feel so certain that they know the truth.

_____ 29. There should be no efforts made to prevent Negroes and whites from living in the same neighborhood.

_____ 30. It is not important that people have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions they obey without question.

When you have completed this test the instructor will explain the scoring and grading system.

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Five-Square Exercise

Once again additional instructions will be given you.

Only those students selected by the instructor need to be concerned with the following Observer Guide.

Five-Square Exercise (OBSERVER GUIDE)

Your task is to observe the group or person at work during this exercise. You will be asked to report to the class on your observations.

Most of us evaluate our behavior in terms of feedback from others, whether verbal or written, whether clearly or implicitly expressed. As you observe the exercise, try not to give any indication of how you feel or how the participants are proceeding in the exercise. They will use any bit of information they can perceive from your expressions, your indicated pleasure or displeasure, or even the apparent humor.

Following are some questions you will probably want to keep in mind as you observe. Written notes can be made below.

1. Does the group appear committed to the exercise?

2. What factors are aiding or impeding group processes?

3. How did communication (movement) patterns develop? Are there any blocks?

4. Are there any visible displays of feelings? What is the effect?

5. What behavioral patterns are evident? (Leader? Giver? Initiator? Receiver? Passivity? Etc.?)

6. Does there appear to be any tensions in the group?

7. Do you have any feedback for a particular participant which might help him to become a more effective group member?

8. What analogies can we make between this exercise and the problem-solving processes we use in organizations?

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PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION, MINORITY GROUPS AND RACE RELATIONS

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this unit of instruction you will be able to:

- Identify specific behavior patterns of minority groups.
- Identify problem areas which prevent effective race relationship.
- Identify those community relations and riot prevention programs most likely to succeed in preventing disorder.

INTRODUCTION

The degree of prejudice is reflected in the change of "tempo" of the conditions it prevails under. Likewise, discrimination appears in a variety of forms and is traditionally implemented in a diversified manner. In this unit of instruction you will discover how stereotyping is a prelude to prejudice and how *discrimination may become the institutional impact of prejudice.* Additionally, we will explore how these two activities affect minority groups and community race relations.

INFORMATION

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice

Anyone who has an "opinion" is prejudiced! In most cases, but not always, prejudice is the prejudgment of people, groups, or situations without knowing or investigating all the facts. There are conditions, however, where complete knowledge and experience in the area of question have little or no impact on prejudice. Prejudice is therefore a *negative attitude* and is often characterized by overgeneralization, misinformation or lack of information. Since prejudice involves attitude and feelings, it is safe to say that prejudice is a *state of mind.* It is not just one thing—it is many things. Three major areas are (1) the cognitive, (2) the emotional, and (3) the action levels. Each is separate and distinctive, but yet overlapping.

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THE COGNITIVE LEVEL applies to what one *believes or knows*. Jews are businessmen, Italians invented Pizza (which they didn't), and all Arabs are thiefs (which they're not).

THE EMOTIONAL LEVEL refers to what the individual feels–fear, sympathy, pity, love, and hate. You may feel sorry for the American Indians because they are a dying breed, and you hate all Germans because of their war crimes.

THE ACTION LEVEL involves the *tendency* to react in certain ways to various situations, but not necessarily *upon* the actions themselves. You may prefer segregated schools or zoning but take no overt action on your preference pro or con.

If "prejudicium," as we said earlier, is the characterizing by overgeneralization, then it surely must be the final and intrinsic judgment of stereotyping. The physical act of implementing that "judgment" is *discrimination* and the theme of our next topic.

Discrimination

Since we have said that all "opinionators" are prejudiced, we can assume that discrimination is practiced by all of us to some degree and, for the most part, is taken for granted. The problem is not that we discriminate, but in the quality and quantity of the end product. It is important to note that discrimination comes in colors of several shades. Whether it's accepted or rejected depends on the background it is set into and in the manner in which it is positioned.

It is especially important that we distinguish between three *general* types of discrimination. They are *approved, contested* and *illegal*. The latter two are more readily identified as *economic discrimination, discrimination in law, in politics,* and *social relations.*

APPROVED discrimination is universal and generally accepted by everyone. This involves *differences of opinions* between the young and the old, man and wife, parents and children, boys and girls, and Jew and Greek, about such things as why *not* long hair, short dresses, going steady, borrowing money, traditional traits, and religious beliefs.

CONTESTED discrimination (economic discrimination, and discrimination in politics and social relations) is bitterly resented by those it affects, but doesn't stop those affected from practicing the same kind of discrimination against others. Included here is the membership in clubs, schools, or businesses that have accorded selected acceptance of special clients, patients, employees or customers, etc., short of violating any established mores and laws to the contrary, and extends to those actions that can usually be safely ignored by legislators and the administrators of the laws. This assortment of discrimination is difficult to distinguish from the first type, except that the latter is not generally accepted by all people.

ILLEGAL discrimination (discrimination in law) takes several forms. First of all, it is unconstitutional to pass a law that does discriminate, except for those restrictions imposed upon aliens who do not have all the privileges under the law citizens do. Discrimination which violates existing laws, such as refusing certain groups the use of public facilities or equal employment opportunity is *illegal*. This kind of discrimination sometimes reflects neglect or refusal on the part of public officials to enforce the law or corruption in law enforcement.

It is important for practical reasons to review again the types of discrimination mentioned. Approved discrimination is regarded as normal and is not felt to be a problem. Economic discrimination and discrimination in politics and social relations represents the social processes by which groups live together and achieve adjustment or at least a tolerable way of life. Discrimination in law is the failure of established social institutions to function properly, which may result in the failure of the government to enforce the law, etc.

Most of the argument, tension, and conflict of discrimination centers around economic discrimination and discrimination in politics and social relations. This is the area where generally accepted rules have not yet been established or recognized.

Mr. Raymond W. Mack's *Prejudice and Race Relations* will provide you with some interesting information that will enlighten your understanding of stereotyping, prejudgment, and responses to everyday living. Complete the following reading assignment from the text *Prejudice and Race Relations.*

1. "The Theory That I.Q. Is Largely Determined by Genes," pages 35–55.

2. "They Are Not So Much Anti-Negro as Pro Middle Class," pages 56–70.

3. "The Absent Father Haunts the Negro Family," pages 108–115.

4. "The Job Gap," pages 116–125.

Additional information is also available in Frank Kane's *Voices of Dissent.* Continue with this reading assignment from the text, *Voices of Dissent:* "Is Dissent New?" pages 4–15.

MINORITY GROUPS

Minority groups make up the "melting pot" of the world. There are so many "branches" of groups worldwide – with some people belonging to more than one – that an actual head count of all groups would probably indicate that no one sect soley belongs to the majority. Sure, we can say that there are more Russians in the world than English and more Chinese than Germans. We can even say that Catholics outnumber Baptists and that Orthodoxes outnumber Methodists. But Orthodoxes are also Greeks, Russians, and Polish, and Catholics are also Americans, Koreans, and Africans. These groups, and others like

them, also have within their membership people who have pro, con and indifferent attitudes about anything that there is to be pro, con and indifferent about. Therefore, it can be said, then, that minority groups are normally classified either by their racial or ethnic (nationality, religion or language) associations.

Minority groups are discussed in the student handout, *Cultural Traits and Behavior Patterns*. Read the introduction "American Culture" and "Minorities in American Life." When you have completed this assignment return to *Voices of Dissent* and read: Chapter 6, "Reactions to Dissent," pages 71–96.

RACE RELATIONS

Additional Suggested Reading from *Prejudice and Race Relations* are:

Part II - "Race Relations In Different Societies: A Comparative Perspective," pages 71–73.

"Where 78% of the People Are the 'Others,'" pages 83–95.

"'Aloha' for the Fiftieth State," pages 96–104.

Part III - "Leaders in Change: A Set of Profiles," pages 143–144.

"A Surprising Talk Between a Black Leader and a Top Segregationist," pages 181–197.

"We Can't Cuss White People Any More. It's in Our Hands Now," pages 198–210.

Part V – "Options Facing Americans: Paths to Separatism or Integration," pages 211–266.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS

The best preventive medicine for confrontations, disturbances, and disorders is an effective law-enforcement organization that has earned a reputation for *fair, impartial* and *efficient* enforcement. The image of the police today is at one of its lowest points in history. To be effective this image must be improved and maintained on a continuing basis. This can only be accomplished when the police image is improved by enforcing the laws objectively regardless of race, color, or creed and by keeping the community informed. The policy of all police units must be explicit in what is expected of law enforcement personnel. To accomplish this, specific *training goals* must be established and training programs implemented, designed to *meet local needs*. Without these "goals" a good and effective "police-community relations program" cannot exist!

Such a goal was the desire of the Directorate of Security and Law Enforcement, Inspector General, Headquarters United States Air Forces in Europe. In early 1966, he identified this "community relations problem" and developed a Major Air Command program "designed to meet local needs." The directorate distributed a public relations guide for USAFE police officers and we feel it "tells it the way it is." It's titled *The Friendliest Men on the Base* and is reprinted below for your use in this course. Since the original pamphlet (dated 1 June 1966) was developed for USAFE units, we have edited it to up-date terminology and to give it Air Force-wide meaning.

The Friendliest Men on the Base

WHAT THIS MESSAGE IS ALL ABOUT! Without mincing words, our security police image is slipping. We are failing to stress the assistance side of our mission. While most of us are doing a pretty good job of enforcement, we're forgetting that our mission is twofold: *enforcement* and *assistance*. This message is about the assistance side of our mission. Assistance we should be providing our military and civilian communities.

We'll be talking a lot about public relations, about community relations, about your unit's public image, etc., for if you are to provide assistance, you must become your own public relations practitioner–and this message will help you.

The heart of this message is its 18 TIPS. Now these TIPS aren't magic; rather, they are tried and proven techniques security police officers have used to improve their unit's public relations image. If you give them a chance they will help you, too. If you use the TIPS–plus your own ideas–in your daily operation your men will indeed be called: "The Friendliest Men on the Base." An that's about as good a public relations image as you can get.

WHAT IS PUBLIC RELATIONS? Most of us think we know what public relations is, but do we? If, for example, we think it's a one-shot cure-all for our human relations problems, then we're mistaken. If we think public relations is some form of "press-agentry," high-powered publicity, or spectacular promotion effort, we're wrong again. Sometimes it contains a little of these, but public relations is more than gimmicks.

Like many other quasi-sciences, public relations has many definitions. But for our purposes let's use this simple definition: *PUBLIC RELATIONS IS THE PLANNED ACTIONS FOR OBTAINING THE PUBLIC'S REGARD.* Right off we see that public relations is no hit-or-miss proposition. Rather, it's a planned campaign to obtain someone else's regard or goodwill.

Any of us who have been in the police business very long know how important the public's goodwill is. We know how difficult the most simple job is *when we don't have it.* We know how pleasant and rewarding our police function is *when we do have it.* Unfortunately, sometimes those in the police business don't pay enough attention to public relations and in the United States Air Force we're no exception. And that's what this little message is all about: *HOW TO IMPROVE OUR SECURITY POLICE IMAGE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE.*

This paper is not a directive–far from it. It's a guide–that's all. It's designed primarily for use by security police squadron commanders, but anyone can use it profitably. Before we get into the TIPS, let's see how you stand, public-relations wise, right now. Take the following public relations test.

TEST YOURSELF! To get an idea how you and your unit stand public-relations wise, answer the following questions. Only you will know the results, so don't worry about your score–be absolutely candid!

	YES	NO
1. Do you feel you have done all you can to provide really first-class police service to your local military and civilian community?		
2. Before you received this, did you have a preconceived plan of any type for winning goodwill for your unit?		
3. Within the past 6 months, can you recall at least three instances where you were complimented on the courtesy of your policemen?		
4. Are you a full-time, active member of the local civilian-military council (or similar organization)?		
5. Do you provide while-you-wait pass and registration service?		
6. Within the past 6 months, have you received less than two complaints regarding services your unit provides?		
7. Within the past 3 months, has the base newspaper run at least two favorable feature articles (or similar stories) about the security police?		
8. Do you believe your efficiency report depends to any measurable extent on what the local military and civilian community thinks of your operation?		
9. Will you bet $10 that the men on the main gate right now can accurately direct us to the BX, hospital, and base supply (or three similar locations)?		
10. Within the past 3 months, have you discussed your unit's public relations image with the base Information Officer?		

HOW DID YOU DO ON THE TEST? If you truthfully scored 90 percent or better, your public relations program is probably in good shape. But if you didn't, maybe we've got something here that will help–so read on.

The rest of this message is devoted to the 18 TIPS. They are mostly ways other people in the police business have solved some of their public relations problems. Some may seem too simple to be effective, others may seem impractical, but believe us–they do work.

Because of the great size and variety of bases in the USAF we don't expect you to use all of the TIPS–we'd be surprised if you do. But we think you can use some of them.

It'll take you less then 20 minutes to read this. Give it a chance to help you score 100 percent on your next public relations test.

TIP #1–Ambassador at the Main Gate. Why should an entire article be devoted to your main gate operation? Simple! No matter how good your unit is, or how effective you are personally, your main gate can literally make or break you. Your main gate is your forward outpost. It's the first contact most people have with your base; it's the gate the visitors use; and most important, it's about all most people ever see of your operation.

So you see, main gates are pretty important to your public relations image. Here are a few items most successful squadron commanders insist upon from their gate guards. They require the security policeman on the gate to speak loudly and in a friendly manner to every car entering the base. Such greetings as, "Good morning sergeant," or "Good afternoon Colonel Brown," work fine. Stay away from slang–no "hi 'sarg'!" They require the guard to be outside of the gatehouse when directing cars through the gate. They insure that base entry is expedited. How annoying to be trying to enter the base only to find the way blocked by a police vehicle, with the driver and gate guard engaged in small talk. When the gate guard is giving directions, require him to direct the vehicle to the side so that traffic is not blocked.

The successful commander permits absolutely no loitering around the gatehouse. Human nature being what it is, young policemen just tend to attract young females. They are dynamite–don't permit them to hang around your gatehouse for any reason!

Of course there are many more items important to the successful operation of your main gate: appearance of the gatehouse, the gate guard's knowledge of the base, etc. But you get the point, *your gate guards are your ambassadors–make sure they are good ones!*

TIP #2–While-You-Wait Pass & Registration Customer Service. "Your Dependent ID Card will be ready in 2 weeks, Lady." "Sorry 'Sarg,' we don't make any ID cards after 1330." "Pass and ID closed–gone to lunch." If you want to make *enemies* for your organization, this sort of thing will do it. *NOTHING*–and we repeat, *nothing*–will alienate people faster than a sloppy, dirty, ineffective pass and registration shop. If you have one, do something about it now!

On the positive side, a "going" pass and registration office will probably do more for your police image than any other single factor. What people want--and we include all kinds of people: military, dependents, and civilian visitors--is prompt and courteous service in a clean facility. In short, they want while-you-wait service with a smile. And they want a comfortable place to sit down, too. They do not want to be belittled for their stupidity, scowled at, ignored, or given the "GI runaround." When they are treated this way, they have long memories.

Now, we're aware of the multitude of reasons why units can't provide while-you-wait service, why airmen can't be polite to their customers, why it is necessary to close early, or why this or that can't be done. But it's odd that some bases manage to provide such fine service--and frequently under the most trying conditions, too. So we repeat: if you want to annoy half of the people on the base and most of your civilian visitors, just permit a sloppy pass and registration shop to continue operation.

We're not attempting to tell you how to accomplish this "magic." We can't! In the first place, every base and site is different; all operate under varying circumstances. But it's up to you! If you're really interested in improving your image, you'll figure out a way to provide efficient, friendly while-you-wait pass and registration service.

TIP #3--Information Please? Have you ever visited a strange air base and attempted to get some information from the guard at the main gate, only to be given the "idiot treatment"? If you haven't, you're one-in-a-thousand. It annoyed you, didn't it? Well, it annoys everyone else, too, especially civilian visitors.

Here then is a wonderful area for demonstrating that your organization is more than an enforcement agency--that it provides service also. And it's not hard, either.

An effective way to educate your troops is to incorporate a little 2-hour training course for main-gate guards into your training program. Or you can do it separately, it doesn't matter. What does matter is this: make sure the man you put on the main gate knows where things and places are on the base. Provide him with a large map for the gatehouse. But if he doesn't already know where things are, all the maps in the world aren't going to help him when some impatient visitor asks him where the hospital is and is impatiently waiting for an answer. And while you're at it, why not provide him with small maps he can annotate and give to visitors?

Service isn't limited to the man on the main gate either. Every policeman, especially those on town patrol and base patrol, should be a ready source of information. How do you find out if they are? You ask them! If you don't get the right answers, it's time for a little training here, too, don't you think?

If you can get people to come to your policemen when they need information, you'll find that your unit's image will go up accordingly. Providing, of course, that they have the right answers.

TIP #4–Policephobia. If your policemen are to be effective public servants–and that's what *we want* them to be - they need to know a little about the people they are serving. Unfortunately, here is where many of them fall down.

It's estimated that fully 75 percent of all people who come into contact with the police suffer from "policephobia." And our people are no different. But what is "policephobia"? Broadly speaking, "policephobia" is the term used to describe the psychological reaction that takes place at the onset of most police-citizen contacts.

More specifically, "policephobia" is that inherent dread or fear that the average citizen has for any police contact, regardless of the reason. Maybe it has been instilled in him since childhood; maybe for another reason. But regardless of the reason, believe us, it exists! When "policephobia" is coupled with the fact the average citizen is usually scared, guilt-ridden or needs help when he comes into contact with the police, we have a pretty unstable individual.

The point we're making is this: When your policemen deal with people, they must be aware of "policephobia." They must recognize its symptoms–*nervousness, undue excitability, belligerence, loud talking, etc.* In general, they must expect people to act irritably over the most minor incidents.

What has this got to do with public relations, you ask? Plenty! For example, if you teach your police to start all official contacts *politely, patiently,* and *considerately* you will avoid making people "mad" unnecessarily. Certainly you have to be stern on occasions, that's part of your job. But nothing destroys your professional image more quickly, especially with a person suffering from severe "policephobia," than a *tough-talking cop.*

Remember, your police "big mouths" can be extremely harmful to your public relations image. So sit on your *tough-talking cops* and make them *polite-talking policemen.*

TIP #5–Put Your Base Information Officer to Work for You. Is your base Information Officer working for you? If he isn't, maybe it's your fault, not his. The point we're making is this: if you aren't furnishing your base Information Officer with a continuous flow of items about your unit, you're missing the public relations boat. And in defense of the poor Information Officer, who has many units on the base to worry about, remember he is naturally inclined to use the material most readily available to him. If, for example, favorable articles keep appearing in the base newspaper concerning the food service squadron, it's a good bet the Food Service Officer is coming up with much good copy.

You, too, can get on the bandwagon; your Information Officer will gladly help you. Here are a few hints to get you started: (a) Pick out subjects that show the policeman in a good light. (b) Check all photographs furnished for publication–"a photo for a photo's sake" is no good. It must portray the image you want. (c) When furnishing written copy, try to follow these simple rules: make your sentences and paragraphs short, simple, and readable. Use lively, colorful words, but keep them simple, too–avoid elaborate language.

State your ideas in positive rather than negative language. Bring in different people's names where possible. Keep your stories short–several short, well-written stories will do you more good than one long one.

Here's the way one Security Police commander solved the problem of getting good copy to the Information Officer: he appointed one of his subordinates as Security Police Publicity Officer. He made it clear this was an important additional duty. You can do the same thing–it certainly doesn't have to be an officer either. The main thing is to find someone in the squadron who likes to write. Motivate him, and let him go at it. You may be surprised at the results.

Remember these two things if you really want results: your program must be continuous–not one-shot. And secondly, you must look for material that portrays your operation as a service and assistance organization. Don't worry about the enforcement coverage, you will usually get plenty of that anyway.

So put your Information Officer to work for you by furnishing him with a continuous flow of good copy. People believe what they read in the newspaper, you know!

TIP #6–Are Your Parking Places Showing? Are you making people mad with your police vehicles? If you are, maybe you are doing it without knowing it. Base police headquarters–or wherever your desk sergeant sits–is the seat of police authority on the base, correct? It is where people come with their problems, complaints, etc. Yet how many times do they find all the parking places in front of police headquarters reserved for the commander, first sergeant, etc.

To the average person, especially to one who is a bit leery about coming to police headquarters in the first place, this is extremely annoying. If you don't believe us, ask a few people around your base.

Now the reserved parking problem isn't confined to police units, it's base-wide. But we as policemen don't have to be a party to it, do we? Where possible, eliminate this irritant. Provide the best parking spaces for your customers–not yourself. We are sure, that as policemen you can find some place nearby to park.

TIP #7–Appearance Up and Down the Line! Seems unnecessary to be telling police units to look sharp, doesn't it? But there are always a few stragglers who don't get the word, and these few can ruin your image in no time flat.

A first-class appearance is a must all the way up and down the line, not just from the man at the main gate. All too often, however, the men who aren't continuously in the limelight fail to measure-up. And remember, the best-foot-forward approach must apply to your officers as well. If, for example, you have a young second lieutenant who likes to wear his hair a bit long, maybe it's time you had a little talk with him.

Hand-in-hand with appearance goes proper wearing of security police special equipment. One of the secrets of appearing well-groomed is standardization. Only properly authorized police gear is to be worn, and it is to be worn during all shifts, too. And when authorized equipment is worn, it should be worn in the same place by all the troops. It definitely should not be left to the individual to decide where items are worn on the uniform.

And then there are your vehicles. Remember, they are seen many times each day, so it is imperative that they are clean and in good working order.

Take another step down the road to public relations success. Do something about those few "characters" in your squadron who are dragging down your unit's personal appearance.

TIP #8—Civilian-Military Councils. "Yes, I belong to the local civilian-military council, but I don't go to their meetings—usually send Lt Brown. They're so dull, all they do is talk."

Is this your attitude toward these councils? If so, you're missing a grand chance to get your police message across.

We're the first to admit that civilian-military councils are not the "cure-all" they were once acclaimed, but they do work. Besides, you can put your message across regardless. How? By using the council as a vehicle to meet and make acquaintances. After all, what you are after is acquaintances—you need to know and be known by as many civilian authorities as possible. And here we are speaking not only of civilian police officials, we are talking about all local officials from the mayor on down.

In many foreign nations the mere fact that you take the trouble to attend these meetings and show some interest will do the trick. Regardless of what else transpires in the civilian-military council meetings, make it your mission to engage as many of the civilians in conversation as you can. Draw them out. Talk about their country. Talk about their problems—not yours. Use more "you's" in your conversation than "I's." Remember their names, etc. Go to the trouble of inviting some of them out to the base for lunch and short tours. Include them in all the activities you can. Find out what you're doing that annoys them; if possible, change it.

Remember, you may know the local chief of police very well but it will avail you little, public-relations wise, unless you know other civilian officials, too. So make it a point to know and be known by the local civilian authorities.

TIP #9—Courtesy Tickets. You can get a lot of goodwill and do your job at the same time by occasionally using the courtesy ticket technique. But all too often, policemen seem to think courtesy tickets "aren't for real," that they don't do the job. Or, as one "old-school provost marshal" put it: "If my people go to all of the trouble to ticket someone, then the ticket is going to count."

> Our philosophy seems to be one that says: to be effective we must get someone into trouble or make someone suffer. It shouldn't be, though. Our policy should be (if we are really trying to provide service as well as enforcement) one which gets the job done with the least inconvenience and embarrassment to the individual.

Of course, regular tickets are necessary, no one denies that. But many progressive police forces have found that courtesy tickets pay big dividends in two areas: compliance and goodwill. Take these two simple examples: Policeman "A" says: "Lady, you're parked in a no-parking zone—you're gonna 'git' a ticket. Yes, your husband will be notified." Policeman "B" on the other hand says: "Lady, you're parked in a no-parking zone; however, it's only a minor violation and our policy is to give courtesy tickets in these cases. In the future, we do ask you to park properly." If the subject of policemen comes up, which of these wives will say a kind word about your police? In fact, it has been found by researchers that people frequently equate courtesy tickets with progressive, effective police forces. Take, for example, the state of Arizona. Its highly effective Highway Patrol has used the courtesy ticket technique for a number of years with great success.

So when you can, use the courtesy ticket to get your message across. It is especially effective with wives as a method of controlling parking problems. Anyway, put the courtesy ticket in your *knapsack* for future use.

TIP #10—Anyone for Handouts? Here's the way one energetic police officer scored 100 percent in the base community relations department. He had made up a simple little one-page, 3x5-inch cardboard handout and gave it to each family living on the base. Of course, new arrivals got it, too.

Basically here is what his handout said: "Welcome to the base, the security police stand ready to help you day or night. Here are our numbers to be called in case of an emergency, and here are the hours of operation of our Pass and ID." He also included miscellaneous *tidbits* of information concerning police services. At the bottom of the card was the phrase "with the compliments of the 999 Security Police Squadron."

Pretty simple, eh?—yet mighty effective, especially with the wives. Why not use something similar to get your message across. Oh yes, we know the same general information is included in the brochure that Family Services gives out, but do it yourself—it's much more effective.

TIP #11—Leave the Sermons to the Chaplain. "I didn't mind getting the ticket, but I sure hated to get bawled out, too," said one enraged major. Most people feel this way. When they are wrong, they don't mind paying for it. But they do mind being told about it, especially by some "know-it-all," "holier than thou" policeman who seems to be enjoying the whole unpleasant business.

Unhappily, however, some of our policemen feel *obligated* to lecture every person they cite. If their lecture can be given in front of a lot of people, so much the better. The more our policemen embarrass and humiliate their victims the better they seem to like it.

Get your police out of the lecture business. When they issue tickets, make it standard operating procedure to issue them *quickly, politely,* and *where possible, privately. SAVE THE SERMONS FOR THE CHAPLAIN.*

TIP #12–Dog Demonstrations. Every time the subject of dog demonstrations comes up it is usually met with a "howl" from the kennel NCOIC–and maybe from you also. And these objections are often justified. There is no doubt that dog demonstrations have gotten out of hand on a few bases. They have become more important than the security mission. These are exceptions, however.

Dog demonstrations are excellent instruments for furthering your unit's image. They are usually eagerly sought after by all kinds of groups–groups ranging from the boy scout troop to the Burgermeister's council. Here's an excellent chance to let "man's best friend" make friends for you. Why not provide all the demonstrations you can as long as your security mission doesn't suffer. The extra effort they entail will win you many public relations points, especially with the kids.

TIP #13–"What's Good for the Goose is Good for the Gander." When asked what annoyed her the most about police, one woman on Blank AFB said: "They always seem to break their own laws." What this lady was trying to say is this. The police on her base disregard the very laws they are supposed to enforce. For example, they parked their vehicles in spaces marked "No Parking." They drive 30 mph in zones marked 20. They smoked in "No Smoking" zones. No wonder the woman was annoyed. The police appeared above the law. This is bad. *The police*–like Caesar's wife–*must be beyond reproach.* They should not be given special privileges. Of course there are times when emergency situations dictate otherwise, no one questions this; however, if your people are breaking base laws and regulations for their convenience, call a halt to it right now. It will improve your image in the public's eye, and it'll make enforcement easier also.

TIP #14–Security Police Speakers' Bureau. Another way of making friends for the security police is through a little device known as the Security Police NCO Speakers' Bureau. Now the speakers' bureau is nothing new to the public relations business–your base Information Officer probably has one in existence already.

But we're talking about a speakers' bureau strictly for your security police squadron. One especially designed to put across your police message. One capable of playing up your service function.

How do you establish a speakers' bureau? Simple! Find two or three of your NCOs or airmen who like to speak in public–and there are always a few of these people around–have them prepare "canned" presentations on several subjects that favorably portray

your organization. For example, such items as: "Services the Security Police Provide," "The History of the AF Dog Programs," and "The AF Marksmanship Competitions" make good subjects for short presentations. Use your own imagination–you'll think of twenty more.

Next, get a little publicity for your bureau. Your Information Officer can help you with this–maybe he'll run a little *blurb* in the base newspaper. Also, he can put your speakers' names in his card file for future reference. But if you are really looking for jobs, let the various organizations, both on and off base, know you have speakers available: The PTA, Boy and Girl Scouts, the officers and NCO wives' clubs, the Rod and Gun clubs, etc., are always looking for interesting speakers for their meetings. Believe us, if you put the word out, you'll get opportunities to speak.

Just a couple words of caution. Make sure your speakers know their subjects, and, of course, they must be subtle in putting across their police message. If you'll keep these points in mind, a Security Police NCO Speakers' Bureau can make a lot of friends for your unit and base.

TIP #15–Let the Telephone Work for You. Do you know how your people sound on the telephone? Do you know how your desk sergeant sounds, for example? Does he jerk the phone off the hook and snap "Hello!" into the receiver? Does he virtually dare the caller to ask him a question? Does he sound like he'd rather be talking to someone else? If so, you have problems.

Telephone courtesy is just as important as personal contact when it comes to providing effective police service. Yet many policemen ignore it. They forget that almost everyone who calls is either in trouble, scared, or wants something. The caller is usually not making a social call to say the least. He needs to be reassured, not harassed. And if he is given the "bum's rush," even to the slightest degree, then you have made another "enemy" for the unit.

As a general rule, we recommend you have a standard phone procedure. As a minimum it should include: (a) a standard technique for answering the phone, (b) the requirement that all women be called miss, madam (ma'am), (c) that strictly military jargon or abbreviations not be used when talking to civilians, (d) and that your people appear patient and helpful. And by the way, if you have any young "lovers" in your police squadron, make sure they don't use your duty phones for long conversations with their girl friends. Nothing annoys a caller with a problem more than trying to call the police only to find the phone busy–busy–busy.

Put the telephone to work for you. Do it by finding out how your people sound on the phone and then insisting on 24-hour, 7-days-a-week impartial telephone courtesy–and keep those lines open!

TIP #16–Recognition and Reward–A Public Relations Tool. It's one thing for you, as squadron commander, to want to improve your image with the base community. It's another thing to get your people to do it! Why not use recognition and reward to stimulate your people to do more?

For example, all kinds of little gimmicks can be used to put emphasis in your campaign. Some of these are courtesy contests, 3-day passes, policeman of the month, articles about individual policemen in their hometown papers, R&R trips, letters of appreciation and commendation, and awards and decorations. The big point is that you must make it popular to be polite and courteous–not the opposite.

Regardless of the individual techniques you use, make it emphatically understood in the squadron that courtesy and service are the order-of-the-day. Practice it yourself; insist that your NCOs practice it, and recognize and reward your airmen who practice it. While you should expect it, don't take it for granted! And when you find it, praise, recognize, and reward it.

TIP #17–The Grab Bag. Consider some of these as GOODWILL getters!

- If overseas, insure that foreign employees working for Security Police don't "lord" it over their fellow countrymen.
- Police sponsored party for local orphans.
- Where possible, make signs polite–not offensive.
- Police booth at base carnival.
- All kinds of charity drives.
- Selective enforcement is OK, but let the people know about it in ADVANCE!
- Picnics between military and civilian police.
- SP tours of base.
- Squadron commanders should personally speak at each unit's Commander's Call.
- "Coke" machines at Pass and ID for customers' use.
- Police color guard and drill teams.
- In offices that provide customer service, have placards reading: "Sgt John Doe at your service."

- SP-civilian pal dinner.
- Athletic competitions between SP children and town children.
- An NCO "unofficially" assigned as liaison to other squadrons.
- Stress the Security Policeman's "Creed."

TIP #18–Have a Plan. You've read the other TIPs by now. Maybe some sounded pretty good, maybe some you are already using, and maybe some won't work at your base at all. We agree with all this–but, and this "but" is the gist of our final TIP: If you want any of them to work, develop a long-range plan for improving your unit's public image. Keep the heat on good public relations by planning for it.

We know that if we are going to improve our image, we must provide first-class, friendly, and courteous police service. There's no short cut! And the surest way of providing this service–whether you use our TIPS or your own–is to follow a plan. It doesn't have to be much–just your own predetermined scheme for winning goodwill "jotted" down some place. Why? Because effective public relations is no one-shot operation. Remember our definition of public relations: *PUBLIC RELATIONS IS THE PLANNED ACTIONS FOR OBTAINING THE PUBLIC'S REGARD.* Planning is a key part of the definition, isn't it?

So devise your own public relations plan. Tailor it to your base's individual needs. Remember, the benefits derived from winning the public's regard are many–and they manifest themselves in the nicest ways, too! *GOOD LUCK!*

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Security Police Training Branch
Lackland AFB, Texas

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CROWDS AND MOBS

OBJECTIVES

Upon completing this unit of instruction you will be able to:

- Identify types of crowds and their activities.
- Identify behavior dynamics and actions of unruly crowds.
- Identify activities of mob leaders and tactics and techniques used to transform crowds into mobs.
- Identify preplanned mob activities.
- Identify limitations and restrictions imposed on law enforcement officials performing civil disturbance duties.

INTRODUCTION

Although group activity sets the scene for civil disturbances, a crowd or mob is composed of individuals. It is the behavior of the individual that, in the final analysis, is important. If charges must be preferred growing out of group violence, *individual* persons are charged – not groups.

INFORMATION

Raymond M. Momboisse – a member of the Riot Advisory Committee, President's Commission on Law Enforcement – expresses his experience and findings in his book *Riots, Revolts and Insurrections* in a most outstanding manner. Complete the following reading assignment.

Section I – The Problems – pages 5-61.

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